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CONTENTS

23 August 1990

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Americans Tour Chemical Arms Destruction Center *[TASS]* 1
Chernyshev Views FRG Position at CFE Talks *[TASS]* 1

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

TASS Reports on Gremitskikh's 21 Aug Briefing 2
  Political Solution in Gulf 2
  Finnish Decision on Hijacking 2
Gremitskikh, 'Military Expert' Give Briefing 2
  'Maximum Caution' in Gulf *[TASS]* 2
  Military Specialists in Iraq *[TASS]* 3
  Evacuees Due in Moscow 24 Aug *[TASS]* 3
  Support for Mubarak's Appeal *[TASS]* 3
  Shevardnadze, Saudi Envoy Meet *[TASS]* 3
  More on Shevardnadze's Meeting *[TASS]* 4
  Need for Political Solution *[TASS]* 4
  German Unification Date *[TASS]* 4
  Concern Over Border Crossings *[TASS]* 5
Position on Nuclear Non-Proliferation Reviewed *[TASS]* 5
International Conference on Defense Conversion *[IZVESTIYA 19 Aug]* 6
Rogachev Holds Talks on Cambodia, Persian Gulf *[IZVESTIYA 19 Aug]* 7

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

U.S. Senators Visit To Develop Business Ties *[IZVESTIYA 22 Aug]* 8
Chaplin, Canadian Counterpart Discuss Consulates *[IZVESTIYA 22 Aug]* 8

China

Chinese Trade Group Discusses Trade Relations *[Moscow Radio]* 8
Soviet, Chinese Nationalities Groups Hold Talks *[TASS]* 8

Northeast Asia

Maslyukov, Kim Chong-in on Korean Ties *[NEW TIMES 14-20 Aug]* 9
Need for ROK-USSR Formal Ties Stressed *[Moscow International]* 10
ROK Fact-Finding Team Arrives in Moscow *[Moscow International]* 10
International Seminar on Korean Studies *[Moscow International]* 11
Soviet Scholar's Travelogue on ROK *[Moscow International]* 11
Correspondent Views Border Opening in Panmunjom *[Moscow International]* 12

Near East & South Asia

Result of Shevardnadze-Hammadi Meeting 'Unclear' *[IZVESTIYA 23 Aug]* 13
Soviets, Foreign Dignitaries Review Gulf Crisis 15
  Shevardnadze, Saudi Prince Meet *[TASS]* 15
  Concerns Shared With Saudis *[TASS]* 15
  Jordan's Husayn Meets Sytenko *[TASS]* 16
  Belonogov, U.S. Ambassador Talk *[TASS]* 16
UN Security Council Meets on Gulf Crisis 16

    'Growing Criticism' of U.S. *[PRAVDA 23 Aug]* 16
    Enforcement of Embargo Debated *[TASS]* 17
    Jordan, Bulgaria Voice Concerns *[TASS]* 17
Council Adopts UN-Devised Trade Rules With Iraq *[IZVESTIYA 23 Aug]* 17
Reportage on Persian Gulf Crisis Continues 18
    Iraqi Units Sent to Yemen *[Moscow Radio]* 18
    OPEC Countries May Split *[IZVESTIYA 22 Aug]* 18
    Bush Will Not Rule Out Force *[TASS]* 18
    Mubarak Tells Iraq To Withdraw *[IZVESTIYA 23 Aug]* 19
    Iraq Prepared To Talk *[PRAVDA 23 Aug]* 19
Soviet Experts, Analysts View Ties With Iraq 19
    Treaty Exists 'Only on Paper' *[London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT 19 Aug]* 19
    Cooperation May Halt *[NEW TIMES No 33]* 21
    No More Advisers in Iraq *[TASS]* 22
    Bonner Questions Relationship *[IZVESTIYA 22 Aug]* 22
Commentaries Analyze Situation in Persian Gulf 22
    U.S. Role Questioned *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 22 Aug]* 22
    Must Avoid 'Hasty Decisions' *[Moscow International]* 24
    Peace Options 'Not Exhausted' *[Kornilov on TASS]* 24
    Soviets Take 'Principled Stand' *[Pogodin on Moscow International]* 25
    Iraq's Actions in Iran Examined *[Radio Peace and Progress]* 26
Najibullah Meets With Gorbachev, Shevardnadze *[TASS]* 26
Pakistan's Position on Afghanistan Criticized *[Kobysh in IZVESTIYA 19 Aug]* 27
Soviet, Israeli Chambers of Commerce Sign Accord *[Moscow International]* 28
Voronin, Indian Foreign Minister Meet on Ties *[Moscow Radio]* 29
New Sri Lankan Minister Counsellor Appointed *[TASS]* 29

East Europe

Polish Official Cited on Warsaw Pact Prospects *[TASS]* 30
CSFR Historian Interviewed on 'Prague Spring' *[TASS]* 30
Soviet Pullout From GDR Begins *[TASS]* 30

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Problems of Strikes, Interethnic Conflict Noted 31
    Costs Top 935 Million Rubles *[TASS]* 31
    Casualty Figures Cited *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 22 Aug]* 31
    Crime Statistics Reported *[PRAVDA 22 Aug]* 31
CPSU Secretariat Discusses Current Problems *[TASS]* 31
    Dzasokhov Speaks at Secretariat *[Moscow International]* 32
CPSU Holds News Conference on Party History *[TASS]* 32
Ministry Views Foreign Contacts for New Parties *[IZVESTIYA 19 Aug]* 33
AFP Reports KGB Antiterrorist Unit Missions 33
TASS Examines Problems Facing Gorbachev 33
Internal Affairs Minister Fields Questions *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 22 Aug]* 34
RSFSR's Isakov on Drafting of Union Treaty *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 11 Aug]* 39
State Arbitration Board Holds Conference *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 11 Aug]* 42
Commission's Work on Crimean Tatars 'Delayed' *[Moscow TV]* 43
Poll Examines Attitudes on Working Abroad *[IZVESTIYA 11 Aug]* 43
Newspapers Register Under New Press Law 14 Aug *[IZVESTIYA 15 Aug]* 44
Higher Postal, Subscription Rates Viewed *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 33]* 44
Health Service Personnel Rally, Voice Demands *[Moscow TV]* 45
    Medicine Shortages Reported *[SOYUZ No 32]* 46
TASS Notes Death of Boris Shcherbina 48

Economic

Deputy Minister on Aviation Industry Problems *[PRAVDA 18 Aug]* 48
Aviation Official Explains Fare Increases *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 18 Aug]* 48

- Moves Toward Foreign Exchange Market Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 11 Aug]* ... 49
- Rival Economic Think Tanks Contrasted *[IZVESTIYA 14 Aug]* ... 50
- Tobacco Shortages Provoke Protests in Leningrad *[Moscow TV]* ... 52

Agricultural

- Agricultural Developments for 18-20 Aug Reported *[Moscow Radio]* ... 52
- Kustanay Farm Seeks Harvest Aid From Cities *[Moscow TV]* ... 53
- Commentary Urges Prompt Farming Privatization *[Moscow TV]* ... 53
- Import Schedules, Mismanagement Hurt Harvest *[PRAVDA 21 Aug]* ... 54

Scientific

- Activities Aboard 'Mir' Complex Reported *[TASS]* ... 55
- Space Sector Needs To Move Toward Market *[IZVESTIYA 12 Aug]* ... 55
- Tupolev Tests 'New Generation' Tu-204 Airliner *[Moscow TV]* ... 58
- New Cardiovascular Diagnostic System Developed *[Moscow TV]* ... 58

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Baltic Republics

- Anniversary of Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact Marked ... 59
  - Landsbergis Welcomes Action *[Moscow Radio]* ... 59
  - Burokevicius on Sajudis Actions *[Moscow TV]* ... 59
  - Lithuanian Rally Marks Pact *[TASS]* ... 60
  - 'European Way' Start Reported *[Vilnius International]* ... 60
  - Polish Reception Noted *[TASS]* ... 61
  - Events To Mark Pact Previewed *[IZVESTIYA 22 Aug]* ... 61
  - Foreign Ministry Makes Comment *[TASS]* ... 62
  - Baltic Border Chief Interviewed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 23 Aug]* ... 62
- Attack on Lithuanian Archives Protested 22 Aug ... 63
  - Motieka Appeals to Public *[Vilnius International]* ... 63
  - Militiamen Attempt To Enter *[Vilnius Radio]* ... 63
- 22 Aug Lithuanian Supreme Council Session Carried ... 64
  - Economic Progress Discussed *[Vilnius Radio]* ... 64
  - Supreme Council Activity Debated *[Vilnius Radio]* ... 64
- Lithuanian Negotiation Delegation Approved ... 65
  - Group Formation Viewed *[Vilnius International]* ... 65
  - Rights of Delegates Stated *[Moscow TV]* ... 66
- USSR Talks, Legislature's Work Viewed *[EKHO LITVY 1 Aug]* ... 67
- Lithuania's Prunskiene Interviewed on Past, Future *[IZVESTIYA 21 Aug]* ... 69
- Dispute Noted Over Klaipeda Lenin Monument *[Vilnius International]* ... 72
- Lithuania's Post-Blockade Budget Crunch Viewed *[LETUVOS RITAS 23-28 Jul]* ... 72
- Russian Emigration to Lithuania Detailed *[EKHO LITVY 1 Aug]* ... 74
- Lithuania's Polish Autonomy Problem Outlined *[LETUVOS RITAS 23-28 Jul]* ... 74
- Latvia's Godmanis Discusses Ties With Republics *[TASS]* ... 75
- Latvia Protests Paramilitary Organization Revival *[PRAVDA 15 Aug]* ... 75
- Russophone Deputies Protest Estonian Delegation *[Moscow Radio]* ... 76
- USSR-Estonian Talks Begin in Moscow 23 Aug *[TASS]* ... 76
- Estonian Premier Savisaar Gives News Conference *[Tallinn TV]* ... 76
- Estonians To Hold Border Rally 23 Aug *[Tallinn Radio]* ... 78

RSFSR

- Coverage Continues on Yeltsin's Russian Tour ... 78
  - Visit to Far East Reported *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 21 Aug]* ... 78
  - Meets Maritime Kray Workers *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 22 Aug]* ... 79
  - Rules Out Giving Up Kurils *[Moscow International]* ... 79
  - Interviewed on Plans for Kurils *[Moscow Radio]* ... 80
  - Arrives on Sakhalin 22 Aug *[Moscow TV]* ... 80
- RSFSR Party Central Committee Meeting Noted *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 19 Aug]* ... 80
- Silayev Chairs Council of Ministers Session *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 19 Aug]* ... 83

- Silayev Invites Solzhenistyn To Visit as 'Guest' *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 18 Aug]* 84
- Khasbulatov on Party, Government Relations *[MOSCOW NEWS No 29]* 84
- Economic Implications of Sovereignty Explained *[IZVESTIYA 12 Aug]* 86
- Yeltsin's Economic Working Group Meets 16 Aug *[IZVESTIYA 17 Aug]* 87
- Atomic Reactor Shut Down at Tomsk Station *[Moscow Radio]* 87
- Report Examines Successful Gorkiy Oblast Farm *[Moscow TV]* 88
- Chuvashia Urges Water Purification Installations *[Moscow TV]* 88
- Magadan Port Facilities, Reserves Examined *[Moscow TV]* 88

Western Republics

- TASS Rejoinder on Privileged Perestroyka Class *[Moscow Radio]* 89
- Belorussian Resolution on Government Changes *[SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA 20 Jul]* 89
- Moldavian Government Dissolves Gagauz Movement *[TASS]* 90
  - Deputies Debate Congress *[IZVESTIYA 22 Aug]* 90
- Moldavian Premier Notes Republic Changes *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 33]* 91
  - Nationalism Seen Increasing *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 16 Aug]* 92
- Moldavian Supreme Soviet Passes Laws, Decrees 93
  - Law on Constitutional Amendment *[SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVA 2 Aug]* 93
  - Resolution on Socioeconomic Improvements *[SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVA 2 Aug]* 94
  - Decree on Renaming Villages *[SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVA 2 Aug]* 94
  - Decree on Constitutional Amendment *[SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA 2 Aug]* 94
  - Decree on Activities of Procuracy *[SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA 2 Aug]* 95
  - Decree on Ratification of Laws *[SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVA 2 Aug]* 95
- Moldavia Forms Environmental Protection Body *[SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA 4 Aug]* 97
- Lvov Soviet Says AWOL Servicemen Not Deserters *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Aug]* 97
- Lvov Regional Council Expels PRAVDA Writer *[Moscow International]* 97
  - Journalists Union Protests *[PRAVDA 19 Aug]* 98

Caucasus

- 'Heated Debate' Delays Armenian Sovereignty *[TASS]* 98
  - Declaration Adopted 23 Aug *[TASS]* 98
- Armenian-Azerbaijani Border Situation Reported 99
  - Troops Officer Interviewed *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 22 Aug]* 99
  - Normalization Urged *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 22 Aug]* 99
  - Officials Discuss Fighting *[AFP]* 99
  - Troops Clash on Border *[Moscow Radio]* 100
  - Situation Becomes 'Exacerbated' *[Moscow Radio]* 100
  - Malyushkin Cited on 'Real War' *[Moscow TV]* 101
  - Armenian Army, Power Viewed *[Moscow TV]* 101
  - Officials Depart for Talks *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 23 Aug]* 101
  - Ter-Petrosyan To Meet Shatalin *[TASS]* 102
  - Border Talks Begin 22 Aug *[TASS]* 102
  - Mutalibov Appeals to Republics *[PRAVDA 22 Aug]* 102
  - Trains to Armenia Suspended *[Baku Radio]* 103
  - 'Terrorists' Seize Arms *[Moscow Radio]* 103

Central Asia

- Turkmen Supreme Soviet Declares Sovereignty *[Ashkhabad Radio]* 103
- Turkmen Deputies Adopt Amendments to Sovereignty *[Ashkhabad Radio]* 103
- Kazakhstan's Nazarbayev Visits Mangyztauz Oblast *[Moscow TV]* 104
- Nazarbayev Addresses Kazakhstan Oblast Party *[Moscow TV]* 104
- Politburo's Masaliyev Discusses Events in Osh *[SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA 25 Jul]* 104
- Osh Disruption Costs, Anti-Riot Measures Viewed *[SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA 27 Jul]* 105
- Deputy Commander Interviewed on Osh Situation *[SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA 28 Jul]* 107
- Tajik Supreme Soviet Reviews Ownership, Leasing *[Moscow Radio]* 108

Americans Tour Chemical Arms Destruction Center

LD2208184390 Moscow TASS in English 1804 GMT 22 Aug 90

[By TASS special correspondent Mikhail Ivanov]

[Text] Chapayevsk, Volga Region, August 22 TASS—A group of American experts today visited the Soviet Defence Ministry training centre for testing the technology to destroy chemical weapons.

The centre was created as a chemical weapons destruction factory, but soon was converted into a training centre under the pressure from local residents, who feared that the factory will endanger the environment.

Officers of Soviet chemical troops showed the guests the centre's technological lines and answered their questions.

Vladislav Sheluchenko, an expert in chemical weapons destruction at the Soviet Ministry of the Chemical Industry and one of those who designed the centre, shared his views with American colleagues.

"Such meetings and information exchange can help specialists in both countries effectively handle problems of chemical weapons destruction and ensure ecological safety," Sheluchenko told TASS.

"Ecological safety issues go beyond national borders," Sheluchenko believes. "This is why we are opening our facilities to foreign specialists. Secrets are now being relegated to the background before parties' desire to check the correctness of technical solutions meant to ensure maximum safety in operating chemical weapons destruction facilities. [sentence as received] We are guided by this approach in our cooperation with American specialists," Sheluchenko emphasised.

At a meeting with journalists upon the completion of the tour of the centre today, Robert Mikulak, who heads the American delegation, said that the Americans were impressed by Soviet specialists' professionalism.

He said Soviet specialists were very frank with their American counterparts and answered all of their questions.

In his view, the American delegation's visit to Chapayevsk was part of the technical cooperation between the USSR and the United States, the beginning to which was set at the recent summit between George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev.

The political decision is now being put into practice by experts, Mikulak emphasised.

Chernyshev Views FRG Position at CFE Talks

LD2208132590 Moscow TASS in English 1229 GMT 22 Aug 90

[By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev]

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—In an interview with the WELT AM SONNTAG newspaper, West German Defence Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg touched on a very substantial issue related to the Vienna Talks on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE)

Stoltenberg believes that as a result of the talks, the number of NATO troops on the territory of a united Germany will be considerably reduced.

According to Stoltenberg, the troops of West Germany's NATO allies could be cut from the present level of over 400,000 men down to 150,000-170,000.

It is hardly expedient now to discuss the specific figures cited by Stoltenberg. The very fact that Bonn recognised the need to reduce the foreign military presence on the territory of a future single Germany is important.

Why should this statement draw attention? The NATO countries are known to have refused to discuss a reduction in the personnel of the alliances' armed forces in Europe from the very beginning of the talks. In view of this, the Soviet side repeatedly emphasised that this important indicator of the level of military confrontation could not be ignored.

The personnel are the key component of the armed forces. They have military equipment and weapons and, using NATO terminology, "play the central role in seizing and holding territory".

For this reason, the Soviet Union proceeds as ever from the premise that the countries of both military-political alliances should assume specific commitments to reduce troops strengths.

The United States has taken the first step towards narrowing the parties' positions on this issue. It proposed to cut down to definite levels the troop strength of the USSR and the United States.

The agreement reached by Mikhail Gorbachev and Helmut Kohl, which directly concerns the military-political aspects of German unification, signalled the second step in this direction. The issue of the strength of a future single German state's armed forces was resolved.

At the Vienna talks, the West German Government expressed a readiness to pledge to reduce the present strength of the Bundeswehr and the National People's Army of the German Democratic Republic from the aggregate level of 600,000 men down to 370,000.

The reduction of national armed forces and the withdrawal of part of troops from West German territory is being considered in several capitals of the North Atlantic Alliance member-states at present. Strategists in the West German Defense Ministry seem to be working in the same direction.

One would like to see troop reduction projects to be developed in NATO countries as soon as possible and the specific proposals by the Western participants in the Vienna forum, which were elaborated on their basis, to be presented at the talks.

TASS Reports on Gremitskikh's 21 Aug Briefing

Political Solution in Gulf

LD2108162190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1520 GMT 21 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Boris Zverev and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Aug (TASS)—The Soviet Union continues to insist on political means to settle the conflict in the Persian Gulf region, adhering to the course taken by Moscow from the moment Iraqi troops invaded Kuwait. This was reaffirmed once again by today's briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center held by Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration.

"We consider that for the time being it is necessary to step up the political measures," the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stated in reply to journalists' questions in connection with the development of events in the Persian Gulf. Yuriy Gremitskikh had to repeat several times this principled stand of the Soviet Government, since the theme of use of force in this region, and also of the USSR's participation in possible military actions there, dominated the briefing.

The diplomat was asked, in particular, whether the USSR is prepared to send its troops to the area of conflict, should the corresponding UN Security Council decision be adopted. In reply, Yuriy Gremitskikh stressed that the Soviet Union "is, for now, more in favor of ensuring the effectiveness of the political measures that have been adopted."

Among the factors the Soviet Government believes are promoting a political settlement of the crisis situation in the region, Yuriy Gremitskikh noted the position of the nonaligned countries, and Yugoslavia in particular. He recalled Yugoslavia's recent appeal, as chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, to movement members "to promote, through joint efforts with the whole international community, implementation of the UN Security Council's resolutions."

Expressing Moscow's official view of Iraqi President Saddam Husayn's latest proposals, Yuriy Gremitskikh recalled the statement by USSR Foreign Affairs Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who noted in an interview published today in the Soviet press that these proposals "contain elements which attract attention." Giving concrete form to this thought, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stated: "Evidently, Iraq's readiness for Saudi Arabia's security to be guaranteed by multinational forces on the basis of a corresponding UN resolution deserves attention." He also noted "the readiness expressed by Iraq's leadership to resolve the crisis by diplomatic means."

The dispatch of two Soviet warships to the Persian Gulf was reported earlier. Yuriy Gremitskikh today informed journalists that these ships "are at anchor in the northern part of the Gulf of Oman, south of the Straits of Hormuz, that is, outside of the Persian Gulf." According to what he said, a highly placed representative of the USSR Navy General Staff, whose information he referred to, "said nothing about any plans for further movement of the Soviet ships."

The journalists wanted to know about the prospects for Soviet-Kuwait diplomatic relations. In reply, the Foreign Ministry spokesman, recalling that the USSR does not recognize the annexation of Kuwait by Iraq, nevertheless did not rule out the possibility, "in certain circumstances," of evacuation of all personnel in the Soviet Embassy in that country. "In a practical sense, this would mean our embassy ceased to function," he emphasized, but "in terms of international law, it would continue to exist."

Finnish Decision on Hijacking

LD2108151390 Moscow TASS in English 1447 GMT 21 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Boris Zverev and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow August 21 TASS—The Soviet Union "positively and with gratitude" received the August 20 decision of the Finnish Justice Ministry to extradite Soviet hijacker Mikhail Varfolomeyev to Soviet authorities, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today. On June 24 Varfolomeyev commandeered an Aeroflot aircraft, making a regular flight, to Finland.

Yuriy Gremitskikh said Finnish actions were marked by the spirit of good neighbourliness and helped boost efforts to combat international air terrorism.

When taking this decision, the Finnish side said it did not want Varfolomeyev to be charged with illegally leaving the USSR.

"There is complete understanding on this and other issues connected with the hijacker's extradition," the diplomat stressed.

According to him, Varfolomeyev wil be handed over to Soviet authorities "in the next few days".

Gremitskikh, 'Military Expert' Give Briefing

'Maximum Caution' in Gulf

LD2208123490 Moscow TASS in English 1228 GMT 22 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Boris Zverev and Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman today warned against hasty actions and called for maximum caution on the issue of the use of force in the Gulf.

Yuriy Gremitskikh spoke about the debate by the Security Council of a draft resolution submitted by the United States on the use of force against vessels violating the Security Council sanctions against Iraq.

Members of the Security Council continue consultations on the issue, Gremitskikh said.

"There is understanding of the need for additional efforts to prepare agreed approaches, preserve the unity reached at the Security Council during the passage of previous resolutions on the Gulf crisis," he said.

"We rely on the fact that it is necessary to avoid hasty actions and show maximum caution in such a serious thing as the use of force," he said.

Military Specialists in Iraq

LD2208141790 Moscow TASS in English 1407 GMT 22 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Boris Zverev and Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—Soviet military specialists in Iraq "are now performing tasks that are specified by their contractual obligations," including the rendering of assistance "in the mastering of the supplied armament and military hardware," Colonel Valentin Ogurtsov, a military expert, told a briefing here today.

In response to journalists' questions to this effect, Ogurtsov said Soviet specialist work not only in educational establishments but also at repairing yards and firing ranges.

He also announced that the Soviet Union had decided to stop sending military specialists to Iraq.

Ogurtsov confirmed the earlier mentioned number of Soviet military specialists in Iraq—193—and said that their number "will not grow."

An instruction has been issued not to send military specialists there and their number will diminish as their contract obligations end, Ogurtsov explained.

Evacuees Due in Moscow 24 Aug

LD2208150190 Moscow TASS in English 1446 GMT 22 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Boris Zverev and Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—The last group of Soviet evacuees from Kuwait is in Baghdad and expected to arrive in Moscow on Friday, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh told a briefing here today.

The group comprises officials from the embassy and other Soviet institutions in Kuwait, members of their families and specialists.

The spokesman said that the first stage of the repatriation of Soviet citizens from Iraq is to begin on August 26.

Iraqi officials assured the Soviet side that Soviet citizens in Iraq would not be jeopardised. "The Iraqi side is providing necessary assistance to the evacuation of Soviet people," he said.

Colonel Valentin Ogurtsov, a Soviet military expert, told journalists that the work of military specialists in that country will be terminated "in all likelihood" as contract-based tasks are fulfilled and the government takes a corresponding decision.

The decision on repatriation will depend on further developments, he said.

If the conflict sharpens, a decision will probably be taken to recall all specialists, Ogurtsov remarked. At present Soviet citizens are continuing work in keeping with contracts and commitments.

Support for Mubarak's Appeal

LD2208143790 Moscow TASS in English 1411 GMT 22 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Boris Zverev and Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh today expressed unqualified Soviet support for President Husni Mubarak of Egypt's appeal to his Iraqi counterpart Saddam Husayn to withdraw forces from Kuwait.

"President Mubarak's appeal was given close attention in the Soviet Union. We understand it as having been dictated by concern for peace and stability not only in but also outside the Gulf," Gremitskikh said.

He said this would have been in Soviet reaction to any other Arab initiatives going along the same lines.

Shevardnadze, Saudi Envoy Meet

LD2208125490 Moscow TASS in English 1240 GMT 22 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Boris Zverev and Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow august 22 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met Saudi Arabia's special envoy Prince Bandar Bin Sultan here today. The prince, Saudi Arabia's ambassador to the United States, arrived in Moscow earlier today.

Before meeting Shevardnadze he talked with Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh told a news briefing.

Moscow talks with the Saudi Arabian envoy are part of intensive contacts with Arab and other states on the Gulf crisis, Gremitskikh said.

They focused on ways to prevent the escalation of tensions in the Gulf and find a political settlement, he said.

More on Shevardnadze's Meeting

LD2208175890 Moscow TASS in English 1715 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze received Saudi special representative Prince Bandar Bin-Sultan today to discus the Gulf crisis.

Both expressed concern over mounting tensions in the region, stressing that a direct armed confrontation between parties involved in the crisis would have most dangerous international and regional consequences.

The two officials reaffirmed the Soviet Union's and Saudi Arabia's determination to press for the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the restoration of that country's sovereignty.

Shevardnadze stressed the important role of the U.N. Security Council, that accumulates the will of the entire international community, in preventing the conflict and remedying the situation.

Council resolutions clearly define the basis for a Gulf settlement and methods to attain this settlement.

Bandar described the Saudi leadership's view of the Gulf developments and assessments of the threat to the security of Saudi Arabia and other states in the subregion.

He informed Shevardnadze about measures adopted by Saudi Arabia in order to ensure the security of its territory and Saudi diplomatic efforts to finding a way out of the situation.

The Soviet side displayed understanding of the Saudi leadership's concerns.

The two officials discussed on a positive plane the issue of upgrading Soviet-Saudi political and diplomatic relations.

The sides stressed the need for the further invigoration of various contacts and the expansion of mutual understanding between the USSR and Saudi Arabia.

Need for Political Solution

LD2208194890 Moscow TASS in English 1915 GMT 22 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Boris Zverev and Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—The Soviet Union today stated once again the need for caution in matters connected with a settlement of the Gulf situation. At a time when the question of using force in the region is being raised in the world press more and more insistently, it is "important that precipitate actions are avoided, and maximum caution is shown" in matters concerning the use of force in the region, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh told a briefing here today.

The Soviet Union's diplomatic activity in recent days is noteworthy. Scarcely had meetings with Sa'dun Hammadi, special envoy of the Iraqi leadership, ended in Moscow, when a special envoy of another country of the region, Saudi Arabia, Prince Bandar Bin-Sultan al-Sa'ud, arrived in Moscow today. He met Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. At the same time the tour of Middle East countries by special Soviet envoy Mikhail Sytenko is going on.

Soviet diplomatic circles more than once pointed out an important role which a unified position of Arab countries could play in settling the crisis.

Stating Moscow's "full support" for Egyptian President Husni Mubarak's appeal to Saddam Husayn to withdraw troops from Kuwait, Gremitskikh said that the Soviet Union would view similarly other Arab initiatives to the same end.

Giving much attention to issues directly connected with a political settlement of the conflict, the Soviet leadership does not forget about thousands of its citizens who are in Iraq up to now (the evacuation of Soviet people from Kuwait has been practically completed). According to the spokesman, the first phase of the evacuation of Soviet citizens from Iraq is expected to begin on August 26.

The number of Soviet military specialists in Iraq will diminish as well. Colonel Valentin Ogurtsov, a military expert, told journalists today that the Soviet Union decided to stop sending military specialists to Iraq.

A decision to evacuate Soviet military specialists, who are now in that country, will depend on the development of the situation, he added.

Unfortunately, none of the members of the international community can guarantee that there would not be another armed clash in the conflict zone. The Soviet Union is convinced of the need to continue diplomatic efforts. The potential of political measures towards a settlement has not yet been exhausted, the USSR believes.

German Unification Date

LD2208154390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1457 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 22 Aug (TASS)—TASS correspondent Boris Zverev and Sergey Postangov report from the USSR Foreign Ministry press center:

The issue of the time frame for the GDR's joining the FRG is an internal matter for the Germans, Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate stated today at a briefing. Speaking about the position of the Soviet Union on this matter, the Foreign Ministry spokesman proposed "not to run ahead and await the adoption of the appropriate decision by the GDR People's Chamber."

He also pointed out that any particular decision of the People's Chamber should not influence the content and rate of the talks of the "six." Only the achievement of a mutually acceptable settlement on all external aspects of building German unity is the prerequisite for revoking the rights and responsibility of the four powers and granting a united Germany all the prerogatives of a sovereign state, the Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed.

Concern Over Border Crossings

LD2208143290 Moscow TASS in English 1351 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Report by TASS correspondents Boris Zverev and Sergey Postanogov: "Planned Cross-Border Rally Seen as Political Provocation"]

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh today voiced concern about a mass crossing of the Soviet border with Poland on Thursday, planned by the Lithuanian pro-independence Sajudis movement and the Latvian and Estonian Popular Fronts.

He told a briefing here that it will "pursue primarily political goals" and "play into the hands of those interested in exacerbating the already tense situation in Lithuania."

The border crossing is planned as part of "European Week" observances in Lithuania, marking the anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

Gremitskikh said that people from Poland, Hungary and East Germany as well as Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are expected to take part.

"This will effectively amount to a mass border violation by people without any documents giving them the right to cross the frontier into Poland."

"On top of this, the organisers admit that border signs and other facilities may be damaged," the spokesman said.

He said that the border guard service is "putting emphasis on political means of defusing the brewing conflict and favours a civilised outcome."

Position on Nuclear Non-Proliferation Reviewed

LD2208162190 Moscow TASS in English 1515 GMT 22 Aug 90

[By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov]

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—The speech of Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy at a conference in Geneva discussing the implementation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty became one of the main sensations at the forum. On behalf of the Soviet Union he stated that Moscow was unilaterally expanding the list of Soviet nuclear facilities that from now on will be open to control of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

Under the treaty, neither the Soviet Union nor other nuclear powers are obliged to open their nuclear reactors to IAEA control.

This gave non-nuclear countries reason to assert that the treaty is unfair and that the control of IAEA is for them a costly burden which nuclear powers avoid.

To counter these accusations, nuclear countries stated that they were ready to open part of their nuclear activity to IAEA control.

Negotiations on guarantees were held with IAEA. Upon their conclusion the Soviet Union signed in 1985 an agreement with the organisation giving it the right to control a number of civil nuclear power plants. The three other nuclear powers acted in the same way.

These actions show that control is not an obstacle to normal peaceful commercial activities in nuclear power. Quite the contrary, it strengthens confidence among countries. In addition, actions of nuclear powers gave the IAEA the opportunity to accumulate the experience of control at new nuclear plants.

Initially the Soviet Union placed under IAEA control 31 power plants and research reactors in 1985. They included not only operating reactors but also reactors that were being built for a number of nuclear power plants. The third power generating set of the Beloyarsk nuclear power station—a fast-neutron reactor, and the storage for spent fuel at the Novovoronezhsk nuclear power stations were added to this list in 1987.

The Soviet Union's latest step in the area of nuclear non-proliferation control, announced by Vladimir Petrovskiy in Geneva, will be implemented in the form of an official document of the USSR. It will be referred to IAEA leaders in mid-September at the general conference of that organisation.

TASS learned at the USSR Ministry of Energy and Industry that the decision applies to power-generating reactors that are not under IAEA controls at present. These are, specifically, reactors at the Kola, Rovno, Ignalina, Khmelnitsky and other nuclear power stations, as well as an additional number of research reactors situated in Moscow.

This list does not mean that all these reactors will be under control: IAEA has a right to choose reactors to control. This is of importance, as control is very expensive. It is paid for from the IAEA budget, but it should not be forgotten that this budget is formed by contributions of member-countries.

One-third of the organisation's budget is spent on control for nuclear reactors. But if the IAEA were to overlook the operation of all the existing reactors, it would be necessary to increase its budget at least four-fold.

It is hoped in the Soviet Union that this initiative, which is a manifestation of goodwill will not lead to the growth of IAEA expenditures in nuclear countries, and that it will be assessed as a striving to enhance the prestige of this organisation and show greater attention to measures for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

International Conference on Defense Conversion

PM2208084490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by V. Romanyuk: "Conversion Over There and Over Here. Notes From the UN International Conference in Moscow"]

[Excerpt] The discussion at the House of the Union about the economic and social consequences of arms cuts lasted five days and ended Friday. Of the three committees working within the forum I selected the one examining the national experience of implementing conversion.

A. Izyumov, senior scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences' United States and Canada Institute, immediately launched into an argument with the main speaker at the plenary session—V. Smyslov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee]. The leader of this important department emphasized the state program for converting the defense industry, which was drafted by the USSR Gosplan. The academic, on the other hand, was convinced that this program, like many others, has no chance of success. All the more so at a time of economic crisis and on the threshold of the transition to the market.

A. Izyumov touched on the specific difficulties of our conversion associated both with the gigantic scale of the defense industry and its relative isolation both from civilian sectors and probably from the market—a situation which does not exist in the West. In general the military sector is the least market-oriented in our non-market-oriented economy. It is run by strict military methods and under a veil of secrecy which is maintained even where it has long ceased to be necessary.

There are also difficulties of a technological order. The civilian sectors are 10-15 years behind the defense sectors, which gives rise to a technology gap between the relatively developed defense sector and its potential suppliers. Of the 120 types of goods which were planned for assimilation at the end of 1989, only 23 were assimilated—and only a tiny proportion of them were up to world standards. Clearly, all this produces no enthusiasm in the workers who have to produce output which is of a low technical standard and, needless to say, cheaper.

What is the essence of A. Izyumov's proposals? To carry out a more thoroughgoing conversion and remove 20 percent of military plants from the defense ministries' control to that end; to completely convert them and turn them into the high-tech sector of civilian industry. In short, he advocates conversion "from the ground up" closely tied to the market and its demands, whereas the government prefers to "start from the top."

After a short recess the discussion was joined by V. Kotov, deputy chief of a USSR Gosplan department, who came to the defense of the state program for the conversion of the defense industry. He stated that the plan envisages the transition of defense enterprises to the production of civilian output basically without halting production. It also envisages the necessary retraining, full employment for industrial production personnel, and social protection for workers.

I talked with both men: Each had his reasons. V. Kotov insists on the need to solve conversion problems within the framework of the state program. And there is a logic to that: Since the state is the customer for arms and it is making the decisions about arms cuts, it should be responsible for providing the economic conditions for the transition to civilian production. Released capacity should be used to produce goods needed by the population, as well as equipment for the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex, communications, civil shipbuilding, and the resolution of ecological problems.

But who should decide the direction that conversion should take? V. Kotov thinks it should be the state—it can take the most account of enterprises' technological potential. A. Izyumov insists that the market should decide! The enterprises themselves should decide what to produce. It is the state's job to provide preferential tax allowances, to set up conversion funds, to find jobs for released workers, and, in general, to create the incentives to ensure that conversion is a success.

"All enterprises undergoing conversion receive salary subsidies," V. Kotov countered. "Last year we paid out 240 million rubles [R] in subsidies, and this year we'll be paying out R300 million."

"Subsidies are no incentive," A. Izyumov objected. "The incentive is autonomy. Just look: Plants which have 70 or 80 percent converted are still under the control of the defense ministries. They are not allowed onto the free market because the ministries do not want to lose their capacity, their investment, and, this is of no little importance, they want to retain the potential for reconversion—that is, for a return to military lines. Hence the profound lack of confidence in our version of conversion. Incidentally, out of 400 military plants only five or six have been totally converted to civil output."

Later I had a conversation with R. Rauner, the Pentagon's chief specialist on conversion problems, who considered A. Izyumov's idea to switch one-fifth of defense complex plants to the civil sphere to be sensible. [passage omitted]

Rogachev Holds Talks on Cambodia, Persian Gulf

PM2208132990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Meetings at the USSR Foreign Ministry"]

[Text] I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, received C.R. Ashwin, Australian ambassador to the USSR, at his request on 17 August concerning the forthcoming international meetings aimed at finding a settlement to the Cambodia situation.

The same day I.A. Rogachev received Nazrul Islam, Bangladesh ambassador to the USSR, at his request. There was an exchange of opinions concerning the crisis in the Persian Gulf and on certain questions of bilateral Soviet-Bangladesh relations.

United States & Canada

U.S. Senators Visit To Develop Business Ties

*PM2308090190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] The visit to the USSR by a group of U.S. senators will serve to further develop business cooperation between the Soviet and American parliaments. The guests have come to our country at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Agrarian Questions and Food. The delegation had conversations 20 August with Ye.S. Stroyev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, and also at the USSR Finance Ministry and the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Procurements.

Chaplin, Canadian Counterpart Discuss Consulates

*PM2308090390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Official Reports"]

[Text] B.N. Chaplin, USSR deputy foreign minister, held consultations 15-17 August on consular questions at the Canadian Foreign Ministry in Ottawa. Zh. Rua [name as transliterated], Canadian deputy foreign minister, and A. Makleyn [name as transliterated], chief of the USSR and Eastern Europe Department, took part in the talks on the Canadian side. During the talks they examined practical questions of establishing USSR and Canadian consulates general in Toronto and Kiev, respectively.

The sides reached agreement on consular districts, the numerical strength of the staff of these consulates general, and the procedure for travel around the country of residence.

They voiced the opinion that it is advisable to elaborate intergovernmental agreements on a whole series of visa questions with a view to further simplifying the procedure for issuing Soviet and Canadian citizens with visas.

The sides intend to continue their efforts to reinforce the legal base of bilateral consular relations, and in this context the agreements on contacts between people and cooperation in the humanitarian sphere, and on legal aid for civil and criminal cases seem promising and mutually beneficial.

China

Chinese Trade Group Discusses Trade Relations

*LD2208153990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1030 GMT 22 Aug 90*

[Excerpts] How can the quality of Chinese products be improved to adjust them to the demands of the Soviet market? Which goods are popular with Soviet buyers? How can the development of trade between our countries be facilitated? These and other questions have been voiced in Beijing in a trade hall by a Chinese association engaged in busy trading with our country. Our correspondent (Vladimir Kulikov) reports from Beijing:

[(Kulikov])] This meeting can be called informal. Alongside representatives of Chinese enterprises from Beijing, Shanghai, Wenzhou, Xiamen, and other Chinese towns, Soviet representatives have also been invited to it: (Vladimir Gorshkov), deputy head of the trade mission in China, trade mission workers, representatives of foreign trade organizations, and Soviet journalists. It was noted at the meeting that over the last 10 years, trade between our countries has increased 11 times. It is currently being conducted at all levels: governmental—in accordance with concluded agreements between states; regional—where trade in border areas is most developed; and by establishing direct ties between enterprises and organizations of our countries.

It was this last question which was in the center of attention of those gathered. As you know, starting 1 January 1991, trade between the PRC and the Soviet Union will be conducted in freely convertible currency at world prices. Of course, this brings about a new situation in our economic and trade links. I do not think it is any secret that neither our country nor China has a surplus of currency, to put it mildly. Taking this into account, the meeting emphasized, on very good grounds, setting up joint enterprises as an important form of economic cooperation, which can develop machines and goods capable of competing on world markets while benefiting from the positive factors of both sides. [passage omitted]

There are great opportunities in our ties. Out of 1,000 joint enterprises currently in existence in our country, only 19 are based on Soviet-Chinese capital. And they are by far fewer in China. So far, only two are working. Of course, this meets neither demands nor the level of development of our relations.

Soviet, Chinese Nationalities Groups Hold Talks

*LD2208154990 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1455 GMT 22 Aug 90*

[Text] Beijing, 22 August (TASS)—Talks were held here today between a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities, led by Yuriy Sharipov, member of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Li Xuezhi, deputy chairman of the Nationalities Committee of the National People's Congress [NPC].

The Soviet delegation arrived in China on a two week friendly visit at the invitation of the NPC Nationalities Committee.

Northeast Asia

Maslyukov, Kim Chong-in on Korean Ties

PM2208132090 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No. 33, 14-20 Aug 90 pp 12-13

[Interview with Kim Chong-in, senior economic affairs secretary to President No Tae-u, and Yuriy Maslyukov, chairman of the USSR State Planning Commission, by Yuriy Starostenko; place and date not given: "Sweeping Away Stereotypes"—first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] A government delegation of the Republic of Korea, headed by Kim Chong-in, senior secretary to the President No Tae-u for economic affairs, visited Moscow. On the completion of the talks conducted on the Soviet side by Yuriy Maslyukov, Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, the heads of delegations answered questions put by the NEW TIMES correspondent.

N.T. We live at a time when the visit of a government delegation from Seoul surprises no one.

Kim Chong-in: President No Tae-u met President Mikhail Gorbachev early in June. Our leaders agreed to promote perestroyka in the USSR and achieve the success of perestroyka by joint efforts. Intergovernmental official consultations started in the spirit of this understanding. They are being held for the first time after an interval of 80 years.

N.T. What were the specific aims your delegation set itself?

Kim Chong-in: Since this is our first meeting, naturally the main task was to try and lay a basis for long-term steady relations between our countries. I managed to form an overall picture of what the Soviet economy is like today and its problems. This is important.

N.T.: Mr. Pak Chol-yun, former First Minister of State for Political Affairs, will visit Moscow these days. What is the aim of his visit?

Kim Chong-in: I have heard he is going to visit the Soviet Union, but it is a private affair... Ours are official intergovernmental consultations.

N.T. Yuriy Dmitriyevich, how do you assess the talks you had?

Y. Maslyukov: It was an acquaintance with the situation in both countries. Our conversations were very frank. We told the other side about the situation in our economy, about the mechanism of transition to market relations and the difficulties it arouses. Considering that the delegation of my respected colleague mainly consists of high-ranking government officials, we concentrated our attention on the issues which are to form the basis of inter-state economic relations. The point of our discussion concerned the way and the fields that may evoke the Soviet Union's interest in cooperation with the Republic of Korea. At the same time we proceeded from what that country and her companies may expect from cooperation with us.

I handed over to the head of the Korean delegation the list of the areas of cooperation in which we would like to have long-term contacts.

N.T. Which are these economic areas?

Y. Masylukov: You know, it embraces such a wide scale of spheres... If I tell you it stretches from gas, oil and chemistry to the production of consumer goods and medical equipment, I still fear to omit metallurgy, extraction of minerals and technical aid in the engineering industry. Besides, we were interested in the problem of conversion and some others.

As for the further stages of cooperation, in August teams of experts will work on the projects we have outlined. In September, if they come to positive conclusions, there might be a new meeting on a governmental level for a more detailed discussion of cooperation terms. So we are looking forward to the results of experts' work to move on.

N.T. Talking to Korean businessmen, I found out that they feared investing capitals in our economy because of the absence of laws specifying the terms and guaranteeing the safety of foreign capitals.

Y. Maslyukov: We have already concluded bilateral agreements of this kind with some countries. We discussed this point with Mr. Kim Chong-in, and he presented his draft agreements on these questions, as they see it in the Republic of Korea. As soon as our experts finish their work, to initial or to conclude these agreements may become possible.

Our stand is that in bilateral cooperation we take into account not only Soviet interests, but also long-term interests of Korea and Korean businessmen. Such an approach provides greater confidence and creates better prerequisites for mutual understanding.

N.T. When will Soviet consumers see the results of Soviet-Korean cooperation in our shops?

Y. Maslyukov: This will depend on how attentive Mr. Kim Chong-in was to my requests.

Kim chong-in: A great influx of Korean consumer goods into the Soviet Union may be the result of bilateral cooperation. I think Soviet people will see Korean wares in their shops, and a large selection at that.

Y. Maslyukov: I'll tell you where you can practically see and touch the fruits of our cooperation: this year we are producing in Vornozeh 250,000 videotape recorders in cooperation with Samsung company. There is a programme for the "Russian version" of the Korean model and we have agreed to start production of the next generations of videotape recorders now on the assembly line in Korea.

This number is large enough, twice as much as the figures we planned before. This year it will come to 450,000. In 1995, our plans being 500,000, we are going to produce, I fear even to say it - several million videotape recorders. So it is a very interesting aspect of cooperation.

N.T. The Korean economy is now going through some slump. Industrial output rates dwindled almost by half, although remain one of the highest in the world. Isn't Korea's increasing interest in cooperation with the USSR connected with the deterioration of the economic situation in that country?

Y. Maslyukov: I regard this as levelling of economic development rate in Korea, since some branches developed rapidly, others lagged behind. I don't see anything awful in the reduction of rates. This is a cyclic process that should be taken calmly.

As for links between this phenomenon and the interest in the establishment of long-term contacts with our country, I think this is merely a farsighted economic policy which will enable Korea in the future, counting on the potentialities of the Soviet Union, to solve confidently the problems it faces.

Kim Chong-in: Indeed, the Korean economy is not hit by crisis. what we have is the objective operation of the cyclic development law. Our rates of progress were too high, and they must be regulated. I think that after that the Korean economy will have optimal rates of development.

N.T. Yuriy Dmitreyevich, you discussed a wide range of economic issues, nevertheless allow me to ask: didn't you touch upon the establishment of diplomatic relations between our countries?

Y. Maslyukov: You see, our meeting is a stage to achieving an agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations. As my colleague says, the road of a thousand li starts from the first step. This is not the first step taken by our countries, so we are already following this road. There is no doubt that such relations will be established.

Need for ROK-USSR Formal Ties Stressed

SK2308052090 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 16 Aug 90

[From the "Radio Magazine on Soviet Primorskiy" program]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The (Dalmori Gutoktu) complex in Vladivostok is one of the most positive enterprises cooperating with foreign partners. The scope of the interest of the complex, which catches and processes fish, is extensive, ranging from economic ties with the Asian-Pacific nations to cultural exchanges with them. (Dalmori Gutoktu) has recently signed a contract with the (Mubana) company of South Korea for the construction of warehouses and greenhouses in Vladivostok.

Yi Sung-yul, president of the company, comments on relations with the fishermen in the Soviet Far East:

[Begin recording] ROK-Soviet cooperative relations are rapidly developing in all areas, including politics and the economy. Under these circumstances, I think the government in its own way is positive in doing this. Meanwhile, our businessmen living in Pusan, representing their region, have come especially to the Soviet Union to establish a deep friendship with Vladivostok in the Soviet Far East, a city that is nearby to Pusan, and to seek cooperative relations between scientists in Vladivostok and those in Pusan and strengthen the ties between businessmen in the two cities. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Announcer] In the relations between the enterprises in Primorskiy and those of South Korea, there are complicated problems, because of the lack of diplomatic relations between the two countries. With regard to this, company president Yi Sung-yul says:

[Begin recording] In the Republic of Korea, the atmosphere of friendship toward the Soviet Union is growing with each passing day. And many businessmen are ready to come to the Soviet Union for economic cooperation through joint-venture companies and investment. However, all enterprises in our country are private business groups. Accordingly, their operations have to be stable and, thus, their most keen interest is whether they would be successful, if they come to the Soviet Union. Their investments and joint-venture operations in the Soviet Union are currently not officially ensured, because of the lack of formal relations between the two countries. At present, the lack of formal relations is the most serious roadblock. Those who presently invest in the Soviet Union do so only with absolute trust in the Soviet Union and with hope that the relations between the two countries will surely be normalized in the future. I can say that the economic relations in the areas of investment and joint-venture operation will very rapidly develop, if the relations are normalized in the future. [end recording]

[Announcer] Many people in Primorskiy, too, share the same view. This why they welcome the ties between Soviet and South Korean companies.

ROK Fact-Finding Team Arrives in Moscow

SK2308054290 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 18 Aug 90

[From "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] A ROK team of energy specialists is to arrive in Moscow today. The team is expected to study the prospect of USSR-ROK cooperation in the area of energy and natural resources.

The delegation is scheduled to visit Yakutsk, Khavarovsk, and the Sakhalin Island. In these places the delegation will see whether it is possible to carry out a project of [words indistinct] in Siberia which was agreed upon at talks held recently in Moscow between the USSR and the ROK for economic cooperation.

According to YONHAP, the ROK side plans to take part in the project of developing and running natural gas in Yakutsk as well as in supplying gas to the ROK.

YONHAP also said that a gas pipeline could pass through the DPRK for the supply of gas to the ROK.

International Seminar on Korean Studies

SK2308123190 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 19 Aug 90

[From the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] As already reported, the third international seminar on Korean studies of scholars studying Korea was held in the city of Osaka, Japan, in early August. This scientific seminar was organized by Keio University of Japan and Beijing University of China. The seminar was attended by approximately 1,200 scholars from 13 different countries. South Korean scholars also participated in the seminar. The DPRK, too, participated in the seminar although it sharply cut down the number of members of its delegation.

Commentators valued the meeting between DPRK scholars and South Korean scholars in the seminar as a historic one. Scholars of North and South Korea had contacts with each other in the past, but these contacts were very restricted.

A station reporter met Georgiy Nonoyeva, senior researcher at the Soviet State Institute of External Economy and Science, who participated in the seminar as a member of the Soviet delegation. He said:

[Begin recording in Russian fading into Korean translation read by announcer] The Soviet delegation consisted of 30 scholars. Head of the Soviet delegation was Mikhail Pak, professor of Moscow University. In the seminar, opinions and views were exchanged on wider fields than the fields discussed at the previous seminars, and discussions of various themes were organized.

Among the participants of the seminar were there scholars with various different views. That is to say, there were those scholars who supported Pyongyang and those who supported Seoul. Because of this, discussions were very brisk, and sharp debates proceeded. This was definitely part of the success of the seminar.

Members of the DPRK delegation included representatives from the Academy of Science on the Chuche Idea and the Academy of Social Sciences. The delegation was not large, only 11 members in all. However, all participants of the seminar, guests, and reporters paid special interest to them from the beginning of the seminar. The international seminar discussed all fields of modern Korean studies, that is to say, political, economic, cultural, education, literature, and (?language) fields. Various subcommittees held discussion sessions on their respective fields. Various differing opinions and views on the study of the Korean studies were presented in the discussion sessions. Opinions that reflected the position of the DPRK were presented not only by scholars from Pyongyang, but also by scholars from other countries. In particular, Korean scholars at Economy and Law University in Osaka, Japan and scholars from other research institutes on Korean affairs presented opinions supporting the position of Pyongyang.

In particular, what was characteristic in this international seminar was the fact that an atmosphere critical of South Korea was pronounced in the seminar despite the fact that it has achieved economic development to some extent. On the contrary, however, there was no such criticism toward the DPRK. In fact, the problems that have arisen in the development of North Korea were not discussed in detail. Topics discussed in the seminar were mainly the philosophy, ancient history, and (?language) of the DPRK.

In a nutshell, the success of this international seminar [passage indistinct]. The seminar ended after deciding to organize an academy of science on Korean affairs (?in the joint research committee). Beijing University and Osaka University, the organizers of the international seminar, played key roles in founding the academy. This organization will become another international organization for researching Korean studies. This organization was composed of only foreigners who study Korean studies. North and South Korean scholars were excluded from the organization.

The seminar decided to hold the fourth international seminar in Hawaii in 1992. There are many grounds that such international seminars can be held in Pyongyang and Seoul in the future. [end recording]

Soviet Scholar's Travelogue on ROK

SK2308044490 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 18 Aug 90

[From the "Focus on Asia" program: "What I Saw in the ROK"]

[Excerpts] Respected listeners: Today, we have invited to our studio Valentin Pak, Soviet historian specializing in Korean affairs and researcher at the Oriental Studies Institute under the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

He has recently returned from a trip to the ROK.

[Begin Valentin Pak recording in Russian fading into Korean translation] It was in the summer of 1950, 40 years ago, when I saw Seoul for the first time. I was not a soldier. However, I was in a city which was aflame with bombs and napalm.

Later, I went to the ROK again at the invitation of deans of Seoul National University. There I gave lectures, attended a symposium on the theme of "international detente and the situation on the Korean peninsula," and traveled to various parts of that country. I visited Pusan, Pohang Iron and Steel Works, Samsung Company's new electronics plant in Suwon. [passage omitted]

Seoul struck me with its new appearance. Seoul as I knew it was a city of one-story buildings, traditional Korean tile-roofed houses. There were only two bridges across the Han River 40 years ago and I only remembered [word indistinct] which had no running water or sewage facilities.

Seoul also surprised me in some other ways as well. I was surprised at the very clean streets, (?elevated roads), high-level services, and well-stocked shelves in shops. This is because we in the Soviet Union have not yet witnessed such affluence.

With pleasure I conversed with industrious, kind, and highly goal-oriented people. They were paying great attention to the Soviet Union. My visit to the ROK was timed to coincide with the meeting between Gorbachev and No Tae-u.

The ROK mass media were paying a great deal of attention to the meeting that would have been inconceivable only yesterday. ROK television stations broadcast programs on the Soviet Union, focusing on the USSR-ROK relations. Some Soviet cultural activists were in Seoul while I was there. Scholars of sociology and economics and businessmen were discussing what impact the summit meeting would have on South Korea in seminars. [passage omitted]

I would like to review about a roundtable talk show conducted in a television studio shortly after the San Francisco summit meeting. Participants in the roundtable talk show made a high assessment of the summit meeting.

For instance, professor Kim Hak-chun, adviser to President No Tae-u, said that the San Francisco meeting was a historical event, noting the fact that there has never been such a meeting between the two countries since 1884, namely since the Korean dynasty and Czarist Russia signed a trade agreement and established diplomatic relations.

Professor Kim Hak-chun said that the San Francisco meeting was a new starting point for developing relations between Seoul and Moscow and a great step toward each other.

Choe Pyong-kil, professor at Yonsei University, noted the great contribution that mass media, science, and culture are capable of making to creating conditions favorable to developing the ROK-USSR relations.

Another participant in the roundtable talk show was skeptical about the prospect for the development of bilateral relations. I cannot remember his name. Although he adopted a wait-and-see attitude, he did not doubt the significance of the summit meeting itself.

As a matter of course, the Soviet leadership's stand earned Seoul's respect. Generally speaking, the ROK is friendly toward the Soviet Union. Soviet people, and Soviet people of Korean descent in particular, are accorded hospitality in lecture meetings arranged for students, seminars and symposiums, and in all other sociopolitical functions. This is quite natural because we place humanitarian and universal values, and the national interests of the two countries, ahead of other ones in relationships with South Korea.

Seoul made it clear that it does not seek to isolate the DPRK behind the establishment of complete diplomatic relations between South Korea and the Soviet Union. This is the opinion of the South Korean Government and was widely shared by a broad range of social sectors.

In a meeting with scholars of Oriental studies, Pak Yong-chol, professor at Korea University who was staying in Moscow, said that professors at universities in Seoul fully support the meeting between the two presidents in San Francisco. He said people in South Korea were wondering why the DPRK was edgy about such a meeting. "South Korea is an ally of the United States. Nevertheless, we would welcome the U.S. Administration's contact with Pyongyang. Such contacts will only serve to accelerate the settlement of the Korean question," said Pak Yong-chol.

Professor Kim Tong-son, economics scholar at Suwon College, said in a meeting with Korean scholars and Moscow scholars specializing in sociology: "We are disappointed at the prospects for national reunification. Although 18 years have passed since the South and North began talks, they seem to have produced no results or forward movement. We are doubtful whether we would be able to see the reunification of Korea before the end of the current century."

The Soviet Union and the United States were responsible for the division of Korea from the very beginning. For this reason, they bear the moral obligation to promote the cause of Korea's reunification.

Leaving Seoul, I expressed my hope to see the Korean people succeed on their difficult road of achieving national reunification. [end recording]

Correspondent Views Border Opening in Panmunjom

SK2308053090 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 20 Aug 90

[By PRAVDA correspondent Sergey Kikhonirov from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] On the day marking the 45th anniversary of Korea's liberation from the Japanese colonial rule, the borders between the two Koreas in Panmunjom were opened.

However, none of the almost 800 Korean people who came to participate in the so-called pannational rally crossed the border.

Why was this so? I was not the only one to ask this question. Truly, why didn't anyone cross the border?

For the first time since Korea's division, the Pyongyang gate facing the South was opened. Furthermore, Seoul opened its side of the gate from Monday to Friday.

However, in order to give an answer to the above question, we must look back at how the rally was initiated. The work to prepare for the rally was actively carried out for over a month.

According to the plan of the initiators of the rally, not only Koreans from the Soviet Union, China, Japan, the United States, Denmark, and the DPRK had to participate in the rally but also the South Korean priest's group had to participate.

However, in the very basic stages, people from North and South Korea were deprived of their right to freely cross the Military Demarcation Line.

Who is to blame for this? The South Korean authorities refused to let the North side meet with imprisoned Yim Su-kyong and two clergymen who are regarded as having heretical views.

In relation to this, the North Korean side refused to accept from the ROK side the name list of 60,000 South Korean people who want to visit the DPRK.

North Korea had proposed to the South Korean authorities to abolish the National Security Law which South Korea claims Yim Su- kyong had once violated.

As a result, doubts were raised on whether the pannational rally would be held in Panmunjom. Also, Seoul did not allow the South Korean side's initiators of the rally to go to Panmunjom.

When he went to the venue of the rally, a reporter expressed the expectation that the rally would achieve its goal without fail. However, that expectation was only half successful. The rally was well organized.

It seemed that the participants of the rally seemed to be sitting on the front of the stage, while the Seoul authorities and Americans, who frequently received criticism, seemed to be the audience.

If Seoul had allowed its people to participate in the rally it would have been advantageous in the joint cause.

Many of the participants of the Panmunjom rally are waiting for an early reunification of the divided nation.

Some of the participants whom I talked with were very pessimistic about the preparations and procedures of the rally, but many expressed the hope that we should wait and see what happens in the future since this was only the beginning.

We should also wait and see what happens. Also, I hope that this day will be a lesson for politicians who are trying to use the aspiration of the Korean people who want true freedom and national reunification as a tool for their political means.

Near East & South Asia

Result of Shevardnadze-Hammadi Meeting 'Unclear'

PM2208153790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by IZVESTIYA diplomatic correspondent M. Yusin: "Persian Gulf: Has the Soviet Approach Changed?"]

[Text] The supreme Iraqi leadership's representative Sa'dun Hammadi has spent two days in Moscow. He met with Council of Ministers Chairman Ryzhkov, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, and Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman Belousov. It is an unusual event, especially when you consider that it is the first visit to the Soviet Union by an Iraqi leader since the beginning of the crisis in the Persian Gulf.

Commenting on the results of Hammadi's first meeting with Shevardnadze, some foreign observers saw in the laconic TASS announcement a hint of a change in the Soviet stance. New accents appeared in news agency reports from Moscow. The emphasis was on differences between the USSR and the West, on the sides' different perceptions of Saddam Husayn's recent proposals (meaning Baghdad's initiative on the release of Western hostages in exchange for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Saudi Arabia and the lifting of the embargo on trade with Iraq).

They also took out of context Shevardnadze's words that he was "familiar with the reaction of many people in the West," but the Soviet Union at the same time sees in Husayn's proposals "elements that deserve serious attention" and is studying them carefully. Before constructing arguments on the basis of this phrase one has to picture the specific situation in which the minister uttered it. Shevardnadze left the talks having barely had time to say goodbye to the Iraqi guest and, in reply to journalists' questions, diplomatically said that the three-hour conversation was not in vain, picking out (with great difficulty, I freely admit) one positive element.

But, by citing these words at the very beginning of their accounts of Hammadi's Moscow visit, my Western colleagues, it seems to me, are distorting the true picture, which could give rise to fears that are not entirely justified.

"I don't think it is necessary to create problems where there are none," a Foreign Ministry representative present at Shevardnadze's meeting with Hammadi said in this connection. "Our minister's words, cited by journalists, do not give grounds for any conclusions that the USSR has departed from its positions. In this situation any signal, including those coming from Baghdad, requires serious study. This is the iron rule of diplomacy."

Did the Iraqi representative's two-day visit amend the Soviet Union's position at all? Did Hammadi achieve his objectives? And what were these objectives? Many people in the world are asking these questions.

The main aim of the visit is clear—to try to break the powerful anti-Iraqi front which was established contrary to Saddam Husayn's expectations and which scares the Iraqi leader. Any day now the UN Security Council will vote on imposing a blockade against Iraq. If it decides to do so, Husayn will be in a critical position. In the first place, given a sufficiently tough and effective blockade, Iraq's economy will sooner or later seize up. Second, hitherto Husayn has been able to successfully play on many Arabs' anti-American feelings. Once the United Nations has given its "blessing" to the blockade initiated by Washington, Iraqi propapaganda will lose that opportunity. The aggressor will be even more isolated, more countries will certainly join the blockade, and Husayn will have practically no hope left of a favorable outcome.

So far it is not too late. Iraq is hoping to prevent the adoption of a dangerous resolution. For that it is necessary to enlist the support of at least one of the five permanent members of the Security Council who, by their veto, can block any decision. From Iraq's viewpoint two sides—the USSR and China—could be "weak links" in the chain of permanent members of the Council. And it is to be supposed that Saddam Husayn has pinned his greatest hopes on Moscow: After all, for so many years we called the Iraqi regime friendly and generously supplied it with sophisticated weapons. There is one more element which Baghdad is taking into account. If you assume that Moscow will refuse to observe the embargo and will resume trade with Iraq, the ring of international isolation will be broken and the effectiveness of the sanctions will be slight.

It is hard to say whether Saddam Husayn is entirely aware that new winds are now blowing in the Soviet Union and our "special relations" with Iraq have been canceled out by the action undertaken 2 August. However that may be, he decided to try his luck. And Sa'dun Hammadi flew to Moscow.

What arguments did the Iraqi envoy put forward? Of course, only the participants in the talks know for certain. But I think some conjectures may be voiced. There was probably an economic aspect in the talks in Moscow. Hammadi could promise the Soviet Union advantageous contracts in exchange for easing its position. Another lever for putting pressure on the USSR, which is seldom mentioned but which is constantly kept in mind, is the fate of the thousands of Soviet citizens in Iraq and Kuwait. Moscow only has to toughen its approach for these people to be in the position of hostages, as recently happened to the Americans, British, and French.

Did Hammadi succeed in influencing Moscow? I am sure that the Soviet position must not be judged by responses taken out of context. Our approach is expressed primarily in the Soviet Government statement and in the joint Soviet-U.S. declaration adopted by Shevardnadze and Baker at Vnukovo Airport the day after the start of the Iraqi aggression. A more recent example is Gorbachev's recent speech in Odessa military district, which Western journalists called the sharpest rebuke to Iraq to be heard yet in the Soviet Union.

What was said to Sa'dun Hammadi in reply to his proposals? I venture to suggest that the Soviet spokesmen did not only tell him that Saddam Husayn's recent initiative "merits serious attention." The entire logic of our policy dictates a different reply.

The Foreign Ministry staffers with whom I talked straight after the event understandably refused to give details of the confidential talks. But there is no doubt that Hammadi's three-hour talks with Shevardnadze 20 August were far more tense than the unclouded communique indicated. The ministry representatives reaffirmed that the USSR's principled position remains as before. The withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the restoration of that country's legitimate government is a necessary condition for normalizing the situation and ending economic sanctions.

The continuation of the occupation makes it impossible to normalize Soviet-Iraqi relations. Baghdad's attempts to convince Moscow to abandon sanctions are hopeless: The Soviet Union as a permanent Security Council member cannot circumvent a resolution adopted by the Council—and for which it itself voted, moreover. The USSR advocates the unconditional release of the Western citizens detained by Iraq (increasingly termed hostages) and considers Saddam Husayn's actions with respect to these people to be a serious mistake.

The Soviet Union was not overjoyed about the U.S. military presence in Saudi Arabia. However, it does not intend to make any scathing condemnatory statements on this score. Moscow realizes that legally the Americans are entitled to send troops to the Persian Gulf, since they were invited by Saudi Arabia's King Fahd. In the USSR's opinion it is Iraq that should remove the conditions that led to the appearance of U.S. troops in the Gulf, end the occupation of Kuwait, and withdraw from Saudi Arabia's borders the strike grouping that is quite justifiably causing concern in Riyadh and Washington. The Soviet Union rejects Baghdad's argument that Kuwait is historically part of Iraq and therefore the norms of international law do not extend to it. From the USSR's standpoint Kuwait is a sovereign state that has been subjected to unprovoked aggression.

The position, as we can see, remains consistent and quite tough. At the same time, the Foreign Ministry representatives intimated that the USSR prefers to maintain a channel of diplomatic influence with Baghdad and advocates the continuation of dialogue with Saddam Husayn and the search for ways toward a peaceful settlement—which, despite the sharp deterioration of the situation—is still possible.

Soviets, Foreign Dignitaries Review Gulf Crisis

Shevardnadze, Saudi Prince Meet

LD2208171890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1604 GMT 22 Aug 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Kanishev]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Aug (TASS)—Prince Bandar Bin-Sultan, ambassador of Saudi Arabia to the United States and special representative of that Arab country, arrived in Moscow today with a personal message for Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the USSR, from King Fahd of Saudi Arabia. The ambassador reported this in an interview with a TASS correspondent, which he gave today in his residence in Moscow in the Lenin Hills after the meeting with Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs.

The Saudi representative did not reveal the content of that message or the details of the consultations which he had with Shevardnadze. At the same time, he expressed great satisfaction with the results of the two-hour conversation with the head of the Soviet foreign policy department, in the course of which, in his words, important current problems, the crisis in the Persian Gulf caused by the Iraqi aggression in Kuwait, and bilateral relations were discussed.

Describing the conversation as "serious and constructive," the Saudi Arabian envoy stated: "Now we understand each other's position better than we have of late. We highly appreciate the position of the Soviet Union at the United Nations, denouncing the impudent aggression (of Iraq), and also the fact that the USSR insists on the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the restoration of the legitimate government of that country." Prince Bandar also gave a high assessment of the principled and consistent course of the Soviet Government in support of the resolutions of the UN Security Council that were adopted in connection with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. He expressed the opinion that the USSR "could play a big role in somehow or other convincing President Saddam Husayn that he has acted wrongly and should put everything back in place."

Answering a question about whether there exists a real possibility of using the foreign Armed Forces deployed at the request of Saudi Arabia on its territory, against Iraq, Prince Bandar said: "When you are dealing with an aggressive country and a leader like Saddam Husayn, it would be a big mistake to rule out anything. It is difficult to say now what we will do or not do in any particular circumstances. But I can assure you that aggression is not our aim. Our aim is to defend ourselves but not to attack. At the same time we must always be ready for the worst scenario, for self-defence against the adventurism of the other side. All we ask is justice. Iraq must get out of Kuwait. The legitimate government of Kuwait must return. These are two conditions which must be met unconditionally."

According to the Saudi envoy, the troops of the United States and other countries "will leave Saudi Arabia either in the event of their mission having been fulfilled, or if we ask them to leave the country." All the countries which have sent their troops to Saudi Arabia, he said, agreed to these conditions.

The prince resolutely condemned Iraq's use of foreign citizens as hostages, calling this step by Iraq not only antihuman, but also "anti-Arab and anti-Islamic."

Answering a question about whether Saudi Arabia is planning to make up the losses on the world oil market caused by the crisis in the Persian Gulf, Bandar said: "I am not my country's oil minister, but I can assure you that in keeping with the policy of our government we shall not do anything that will harm the economy of our friends throughout the world. We have friends both among the poor countries of the 'Third' World and in the industrially developed world. Iraq's action has done harm to these countries, and we will do everything to correct this situation. But what, when, and how, this will be answered by our oil minister at the appropriate time."

In Bandar's opinion, Iraq's action has not only done nothing to help the just cause of the Palestinian people's struggle for self-determination and the creation of their own independent state, or Arab unity, but has also damaged them. "The Arab world has been violated, has fallen to pieces, and it will be very difficult to put it together," he pointed out.

Concerns Shared With Saudis

LD2308123190 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT 23 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow August 29, TASS—Saudi Envoy Prince Bandar Bin-Sultan al-Sa'ud, in the USSR since August 22, left Moscow today.

The Saudi representative, who serves as ambassador to the United States, held intensive discussions at the Soviet Foreign Ministry and conveyed a personal message from King Fahd to President Gorbachev.

It became known today that his discussion with Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on Wednesday focused on the Gulf crisis.

Both officials expressed concern over heightening tensions in the region. They observed that a direct armed confrontation between [word indistinct] involved in the crisis would have grave international and regional consequences.

The Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia reaffirmed their determination to press for the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the restoration of that country's sovereignty.

Shevardnadze stressed the important role of the U.N. Security Council in preventing the conflict and remedying the situation. Council resolutions clearly define the basis for a settlement in the Gulf and methods to attain this settlement.

Bandar ibn-Sultan expressed the Saudi [word indistinct] view of the Gulf developments and assessed [word indistinct] emerging threat to the security of Saudi Arabia and other states in the subregion.

He described measures adopted by Saudi Arabia to ensure the safety of its territory and Saudi diplomatic efforts to find the earliest solution to the crisis.

The Soviet side displayed understanding of the Saudi leadership's concerns.

Both sides discussed on a positive (?plane issues of) upgrading Soviet-Saudi political and diplomatic relations and stressed the need for the invigoration of contacts and broader mutual understanding.

In an interview with TASS following his discussion with Shevardnadze, the Saudi envoy expressed great satisfaction with the results of his two-hour talk which he described as "serious and constructive".

"We both have a better understanding of each other's position now. We are very much appreciative of the stand the Soviet Union has taken in the United Nations to condemn this flagrant invasion, and we are appreciative of the fact that the Soviet Union insists on the withdrawal of the Iraqis from Kuwait and the return of the legitimate government of that country."

He voiced the opinion that the Soviet Union could play a big role in convincing President Saddam Husayn that he acted wrongly and that he should reverse the situation.

Jordan's Husayn Meets Sytenko

LD2208181490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1743 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Amman, 22 August (TASS)—M.D. Sytenko, the special representative of the Soviet leadership, who is touring a number of countries in the Middle East, was received by King Husayn Ibn-Talal of Jordan today. During their conversation they had a detailed discussion on the dangerous situation which has arisen in the Persian Gulf region. It was stressed that it is important now not to allow a further escalation of tension and to strive for a peaceful settlement of the conflict in accordance with the principles of international law. Crown Prince Hasan of Jordan; Marwan al-Qasim, deputy prime minister and foreign minister; and Y.S. Gryadunov, the Soviet ambassador to Jordan, took part in the conversation.

Belonogov, U.S. Ambassador Talk

LD2308104590 Moscow TASS in English 1037 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov today received U.S. Ambassador to the USSR Jack Matlock, at the latter's request.

The two men discussed some problems concerning the situation in the Gulf, in particular, implementation of the U.N. decisions aimed at ending the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait.

UN Security Council Meets on Gulf Crisis

'Growing Criticism' of U.S.

PM2208194790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 90 Second Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent V. Linnik under the rubric "Persian Gulf: War or Peace?": "New York on the Line"]

[Text] 22 Aug—A potentially dangerous situation in the Persian Gulf which threatened to turn into the start of open hostilities between Iraq and the United States was defused at the United Nations late last night.

This involved two Iraqi tankers which were heading for the Yemeni port of Aden. After firing warning shots at the tankers, U.S. warships stopped pursuing them only when the Yemeni representative at the United Nations gave assurances to the U.S. representative that the tankers would not be unloaded in the port.

Discussion of two draft resolutions on the blockade of Iraq by multilateral UN forces is under way at the UN Security Council: One has been introduced by the United States, the other by the Cuban representative. Council members have not yet been able to come to a united opinion on the advisability of switching from the economic sanctions declared against Iraq by the United Nations to a total blockade of the country. The difference between these two decisions is very substantial. The Security Council sanctions resolution contains a special exemption regarding the entry of food and medicine into Iraq. A decision on a blockade would cover all freight entering the country. The doubts gripping a number of council members are understandable: They do not wish to take steps which would aggravate the already extremely highly charged atmosphere in the Gulf zone.

The Security Council has not yet adopted a resolution on the position of the foreign citizens held hostage in Kuwait and Iraq, to the examination of which several sittings of the body have been devoted. In addition to the unanimous condemnation of Iraq's aggressive actions, there is also heard at the council sittings growing criticism of the independent steps taken by the United States in the Persian Gulf, which with every day make increasingly difficult the possibility of achieving a peaceful settlement of the crisis. In particular, not one of the Security Council resolutions adopted to date gives the United States the right to carry out a unilateral blockade of Iraq. The United States asserts the contrary, although it prefers to use the word "interdiction" ["perekhvat"] instead of "blockade."

Enforcement of Embargo Debated

LD2308082490 Moscow TASS in English 0713 GMT 23 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] New York 23 TASS—The five permanent members of the UN Security Council met twice on Wednesday to continue consultations about the Gulf crisis.

They considered the draft resolution on the use of force to police the economic embargo of Iraq proposed by the American delegation.

The resolution, if approved, would permit all states with warships in the Gulf zone to use force to check the cargoes carried by all merchant vessels en route to or from Iraq to see that the Security Council economic sanctions against Iraq are strictly observed.

However, the draft does not specify clearly enough the role the Security Council and its military committee is expected to play in the coordination of naval activities. The mechanism of international control over the possible blockade of Iraq also needs clarification.

The American draft, observers here note, would give the go-ahead to uncontrolled use of force in the Gulf, while the Security Council will have to take all the responsibility.

U.S. permanent envoy to the United Nations Thomas Pickering noted that certain headway had been achieved during the consultations.

Acting Soviet envoy Valentin Lozinskiy pointed to the need to rely on political means and diplomatic efforts. Force should be used with great caution and only at an appropriate moment, he said.

The Soviet envoy also noted that the security military committee should act strictly in accordance with the role envisaged in the UN Charter.

This basic document stresses that plans for the use of armed force are to be drawn up by the Security Council with the help of its military committee.

Jordan, Bulgaria Voice Concerns

LD2308081890 Moscow TASS in English 0718 GMT 23 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] New York, U.N., August 23 TASS—The U.N. Security Council held consultations on Wednesday night at the request of Jordan and Bulgaria after the two countries reported difficulties in enforcing mandatory measures against Iraq.

The Jordanian ambassador to the U.N. said in a letter to the Security Council president that Jordan will abide by provisions of Resolution 661 on economic sanctions against Iraq. However, in connection with the interdependence of the Jordanian, Iraqi and Kuwaiti economies, Jordan's total losses from the trade embargo will run to approximately $1.5 billion a year. In this connection, Jordan asked the Security Council for help.

Bulgaria, which also faces serious economic problems in implementing Resolution 661, made a similar request.

U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Thomas Pickering said afterwards that Jordan's position on the sanctions is a special case demanding further consideration. A U.N. Security Council committee, dealing with the enforcement of sanctions against Iraq, will also consider these issues and present its recommendations.

Council Adopts UN-Devised Trade Rules With Iraq

PM2208155590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1

[USSR Council of Ministers "instruction": "Fulfilling the UN Security Council's Will"]

[Text] On 16 August the USSR Council of Ministers adopted the following instruction signed by N. Ryzhkov:

In connection with the adoption by the UN Security Council of Resolution 661 on suspending certain forms of trade, economic, financial, and credit links with Iraq, which is obligatory for all UN member states in accordance with the UN Charter:

1. Ministries and departments concerned with trade, economic, financial, and credit ties with Iraq and Kuwait must:

a) adopt the appropriate measures to carry out the relevant provisions of the above-mentioned UN Security Council Resolution 661;

b) elaborate concrete measures to reduce to a minimum losses to the country as a result of suspending certain forms of trade, economic, financial, and credit ties with Iraq and Kuwait.

2. Ministries and departments concerned with trade, economic, financial, and credit ties with Iraq and Kuwait, must provide information at the request of the

USSR Foreign Ministry on measures adopted in the USSR in implementaton of UN Security Council Resolution 661.

The USSR Foreign Ministry must, on the basis of this data, provide the UN secretary general with generalized information within the timeframe he establishes.

3. Verification of the implementation of this instruction is to be the responsibility of the interdepartmental group headed by Comrade I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, formed on the USSR president's instruction of 8 August 1990.

Reportage on Persian Gulf Crisis Continues

Iraqi Units Sent to Yemen

LD2208215390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2000 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Excerpts] Among reports from abroad that have come in over the past day, we must single out of course those dealing with events in the Persian Gulf. [passage omitted]

Baghdad has transferred a bomber squadron and a group of special-purpose troops to Yemen. From here, the aircraft will be able to reach Israeli territory and make the position of U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf and Saudi Arabia more difficult. [passage omitted]

OPEC Countries May Split

PM2308081490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by special correspondent Yu. Kovalenko: "OPEC on the Verge of a Split?"]

[Text] Saudi Arabia, supported by a number of other states, is demanding the immediate convocation in Geneva of an emergency session of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). The aim of this meeting is to settle the issue of increasing oil production to compensate for the shortfall resulting from the embargo on Iraq and Kuwait. The world market is suffering a shortfall of around 4 million barrels a day as a result of sanctions.

A fierce polemic has flared up over the convening of the meeting in Geneva—for which the agreement of seven of the 13 OPEC members is needed—but Saudi Arabia has already announced its intention to increase oil production by 37 percent, or two million barrels a day, even if the other OPEC members do not support it. Saudi Oil Minister Hisham Nazir stated that his country cannot allow the embargo to lead to a significant growth in the price per barrel, which has jumped recently from $19 to $28. This would, in his words, lead to a worldwide economic recession which would have negative consequences first and foremost for "Third World" countries, and also for OPEC members.

Iraq promptly warned Saudi Arabia that it views any increase in oil production by OPEC states as "an act of aggression." Baghdad thinks that, because neither Iraq nor Iraqi-occupied Kuwait can export their oil, all the other countries should "suffer" from price rises.

Implementing the embargo policy, the Saudi authorities refused to allow into the port of Yanbu on the Red Sea two tankers wanting to load Iraqi oil arriving there by pipeline. They again asserted that access to the oil will be blocked until Baghdad withdraws its troops from Kuwait.

Judging by the latest reports, the United Arab Emirates and Venezuela are willing to increase oil production along with Saudi Arabia, and if Nigeria also joins these three countries, they would be able to make up the shortfall almost completely, and thereby put an end to the price spiral.

However, some countries are opposing the emergency OPEC meeting in Geneva—they are Iraq, naturally, but also Libya, Algeria, and Ecuador. The other members of this organization are hesitating. Thus, for instance, Indonesia suggests that the reserves which various world oil companies possess are for the time being sufficient, and therefore it is premature to speak of an oil shortage.

In some capitals it is claimed that Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Venezuela are embarking on an increase in oil production as a result of American pressure. And the fear is being expressed in OPEC circles that if such a meeting is agreed to now, the organization will find itself embroiled in severe political squabbles, the upshot of which could be a split.

This turn of events means that, as a result of the crisis in the Persian Gulf, OPEC is experiencing one of the most difficult periods in its 30-year history. The future of this organization, commentators point out, is cloudy and uncertain.

Bush Will Not Rule Out Force

LD2308080590 Moscow TASS in English 0730 GMT 23 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Nikolay Pakhomov and Oleg Polyakovskiy]

[Text] Washington August 23 TASS—President George Bush met his top advisers in Kennebunkport, Maine, on Wednesday to discuss the Gulf crisis.

"We stand shoulder to shoulder right there in the Middle East with the Armed Forces of 22 other nations, from the Middle East, from Europe and around the world," Bush told reporters after the meeting.

"An impressive alliance of multinational forces that stands behind the United Nations resolves that Iraq completely and unconditionally withdraw from Kuwait, with the restoration of the legitimate government in that country," he said.

"This is not a matter between Iraq and the United States of America. It is between Iraq and the entire world community—Arab and non-Arab alike, all the nations of the world lined up that oppose aggression."

Bush said he had ordered the mobilization of reservists, who will join U.S. forces in the Arabia peninsula.

The United States is maintaining close contact with the Soviet Union on the Gulf crisis, Bush said.

"There may be some differences. But I have no argument with the way in which they have cooperated. I can say we are getting superb cooperation from the Soviets," he said.

The United States is prepared to intercept vessels with Iraqi cargoes and has the authority to do so, the President said.

However, Washington has so far refrained from such actions and is waiting for a U.N. resolution to get "more collective action".

Asked if America should be prepared for the possibility of war and American deaths, Bush said: "I think any time you move American forces and any time you are up against what most of the world now considers to be an outrageous violator of international law, that the best thing is to be prepared."

Bush did not rule out the possibility of using force to kick the Iraqis out of Kuwait. "I don't rule in or rule out the use of military force," he said.

Asked why Iraq is still being allowed to receive supplies through Jordan, Bush said: "I am not sure they are and I hope they're not. And if it is going in it clearly violates not only the sanctions but what King Husayn told me."

Defence Secretary Richard Cheney told reporters the mobilisation of reservists would be partial. He, however, declined to say how many of the 200,000 U.S. reservists will be called up.

Certain elements will be called up when the need arises, Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Powell said.

Mubarak Tells Iraq To Withdraw

PM2208160390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent D. Velikiy: "H. Mubarak's Appeal"]

[Text] Cairo—The Egyptian president has made an appeal to the Iraqi leadership to withdraw its troops from Kuwait. This latest appeal is being voiced "at a decisive and difficult moment," Husni Mubarak stressed.

"I appeal to President Saddam Husayn not to plunge mankind into a destructive war which will destroy the earth's green mantle and the earth itself, and only God knows how terrible the outcome of this war may be if it starts now. It will throw mankind way back into the past, into the times of devastation and darkness."

In the name of Islam, the religion of peace and fraternity, Husni Mubarak called on President Saddam Husayn to put an end to this most dangerous development of events.

Iraq Prepared To Talk

PM2208182590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 90 First Edition pp 1, 4

[TASS roundup under general headline "Persian Gulf: Peace or War?": "Iraq on Readiness for Talks With United States"]

[Text] Iraq seeks a peaceful solution to the problem and is proposing to the United States that talks be started to settle the crisis situation in the Persian Gulf, Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz has stated.

Addressing a news conference in the Jordanian capital last night, he stressed: "We are ready for talks, it is up to the United States." 'Aziz also reported that the U.S. leadership had been informed of this proposal through the U.S. charge d'affaires in Iraq.

At virtually the same time as 'Aziz's statement, the text of a second open letter by Saddam Husayn to the U.S. President was read out on Iraqi television. The Iraqi leader again blamed George Bush for the current crisis and pointed out that it was U.S. "aggression against the Arab nation and Iraq" which led to the emergence of the hostages problem. Saddam Husayn also pointed out that Bush is disregarding the "Iraqi peace proposals." In his words, if the United States attacks Iraq, a "great tragedy will befall not just the Near East region but the whole world."

Soviet Experts, Analysts View Ties With Iraq

Treaty Exists 'Only on Paper'

PM2208100890 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 19 Aug 90 p 6

[Interview with Dr. Nikolay Shishlin, "political adviser to the Soviet political leadership," by Huda al-Husayni; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [Al-Husayni] Is there any similarity between the invasion of Kuwait and the Soviet forces' invasion of Afghanistan?

[Shishlin] I do not think so. Because the Soviet Union did not intend, nor was is its aim, to occupy Afghanistan. It was a tragedy. In fact the Soviet people regard that experience as a crime and a criminal act. But the previous Soviet leadership's aim was not to occupy Afghanistan. Iraq, on the other hand, quite simply swallowed up Kuwait and claimed it as part of its own territory. So I cannot compare the two actions.

[Al-Husayni] How do you view the situation in the Gulf now?

[Shishlin] I think it is very dangerous. In my view, Saddam Husayn's terrible decision to invade and occupy Kuwait is a step toward a disaster for Saddam Husayn. The question now is: When will that disaster take place? I say that it must and will take place.

[Al-Husayni] Can you not say when?

[Shishlin] It is difficult to say when, but I would not give him long.

[Al-Husayni] Is the Soviet Union still exchanging views with the United States on the Gulf crisis?

[Shishlin] Yes, all the time. Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze is in constant contact with the U.S. State Department and Secretary James Baker. They are discussing all the details. Furthermore, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has issued a statement on the matter. [passage omitted]

[Al-Husayni] Do you support all the steps being taken by Washington?

[Shishlin] I will now express my personal view: The steps taken by Washington were a response to the cause of the Gulf crisis. It has taken defensive, not offensive, measures. And I believe that it is Iraq's policy—not the U.S. policy or the West's—that is the offensive one.

[Al-Husayni] The Soviet Union has a destroyer in the Gulf at the moment, and two other vessels will join it soon. Can this be regarded as the start of your military participation in the defense process?

[Shishlin] That region is near our country, and we have our own interests there. Our main priority is to help to find the means—which we prefer to be political—to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem as a whole. I believe that the economic sanctions decided by the Security Council—with support from the Arab states—against Iraq will fulfill their purpose. I am sure of it. They will be very effective.

[Al-Husayni] Do you not want to send Soviet forces to the Gulf?

[Shishlin] No, we do not.

[Al-Husayni] Even if a decision is issued by the Security Council and the United Nation?

[Shishlin] Then we would consider the idea. But it is better now to turn to political and economic measures.

[Al-Husayni] There is talk now about a naval blockade. Do the Soviets support that view?

[Shishlin] This idea is still unclear. I do not believe that any state will have the courage to reject a Security Council decision. They [not further identified] think that the blockade will be effective. Although we had good relations with Iraq, we declared the suspension of military supplies to it. We do not support the aggressor, and we condemned the action.

[Al-Husayni] Do you believe that economic sanctions and banning arms supplies are sufficient, or does the situation demand a military operation?

[Shishlin] In my view, it is essential to study the outcome of such an operation or military offensive. We must not think only about Saddam Husayn. We must think about the Iraqi people. Despite the demonstrations, slogans, zeal, and applause, I think that many people in Iraq were disappointed by that decision. And they are not happy with that brutal regime. Now, with the international community's condemnation of Iraq, the situation within Iraq will definitely change. It will definitely change considerably, and it will not change in Saddam Husayn's favor.

[Al-Husayni] Are Soviet-Iraqi relations still strong?

[Shishlin] No. We did have extensive relations, but I cannot now say the same.

[Al-Husayni] Do you believe that Iraq broke the 1972 friendship treaty when its military forces invaded Kuwait?

[Shishlin] Yes, and I am certain of it. I believe that the treaty exists only on paper now, not in relations. [passage omitted]

[Al-Husayni] How would you describe relations between Moscow and Kuwait?

[Shishlin] We had good relations with Kuwait, and we now support Kuwait and Kuwait's legitimate leaders. We see no legal basis for the puppet regime installed by Iraq.

[Al-Husayni] Do you believe that the annexation of Kuwait is the first step in the Iraqi president's intentions?

[Shishlin] If he is not stopped, he will continue to annex the other states. But he has now been stopped.

[Al-Husayni] Are you concerned about your nationals in Iraq and Kuwait?

[Shishlin] Of course, of course, and we will takes measures to evacuate our nationals from Kuwait. They must be evacuated from Iraq.

[Al-Husayni] Do you now regard the Soviets and foreigners in Kuwait and Iraq as hostages?

[Shishlin] In a way, they are, but we still have some chance of evacuating our nationals from that inferno. [passage omitted]

[AL-Husayni] Iraq signed the 1925 Geneva convention which bans the use of chemical weapons. Do you think it will violate its commitments under the convention for a second time? And if the Iraqis do use chemical weapons during this crisis, will the response be a nuclear one?

[Shishlin] No, it will not be nuclear, since that would be a dangerous step. But if Iraq uses chemical weapons during this conflict, the response will be very severe.

[Al-Husayni] Have you discussed this with Washington?

[Shishlin] Not only with Washington. And I am sure that the United Nations is preparing a reply. The important thing is that the response to chemical weapons—should Iraq use them—will be unprecedented. [passage omitted]

[Al-Husayni] Did you read about the Iraqi president's initiative?

[Shishlin] Yes, I did, and I do not consider it a serious initiative. This is no game: The situation is more dangerous than that.

[Al-Husayni] Do you believe that he is trying to play for time?

[Shishlin] He is trying to split the Arab world, he is trying to nurture erroneous ideas—which is irresponsible.

[Al-Husayni] Do you believe that Iraq is now isolated and cornered?

[Shishlin] Yes. Probably not now, but in the next few days it will be.

[Al-Husayni] In your view, where will the president's ambitions lead the region?

[Shishlin] He is indeed an ambitious man. But I repeat that the step which Saddam took with the occupation of Kuwait will lead him to disaster. I am certain that that step was the beginning of the end for him. In fact it has started. I am sure of it.

Cooperation May Halt

PM2208131890 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 33 14-20 Aug 90 pp 5-6

[Unattributed interview with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov, place and date not give; published under the rubric "The Gulf's Fratricidal War": "Common Sense Must Prevail"]

[Text] NEW TIMES: How was the Soviet stand vis-a-vis the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait formed and what steps has this country taken in connection with the conflict?

A. Belonogov: It has been clear to us from the very beginning that Iraqi actions were an aggression pure and simple. This determined the Soviet attitude and approach to the developments.

On the very first day of the aggression the Soviet leadership sent a message to President Saddam Husayn of Iraq unequivocally condemning the aggression and calling for an immediate Iraqi pullout from Kuwait. Soon we received a reply message from President Husayn addressed to President Gorbachev personally. Unfortunately, we did not find any mitigating circumstances in it.

Several hours later a new message was sent from the Soviet leadership to President Husayn. The message was even more resolute in demanding that Iraq display responsibility and seriousness and honour UN Security Council Resolution No. 660.

At the same time, we remember that a considerable number of Soviet citizens are now in both Kuwait and Iraq. Another difficulty is that in Iraq Soviet citizens are scattered across the country and there is no prompt communication with them. At present all Soviet citizens are alive and well.

Is the situation really that unclouded? Not really. Kuwait's specific feature is that the country has to import all food and even fresh water. That is why continuation of the Iraqi aggression will mean an inevitable aggravation of the food crisis. We have received promises from Baghdad that special measures will be taken to provide Soviet citizens with everything necessary.

The resolution on sanctions will, of course, create a situation in which the Soviet Union will have to take a number of measures halting many forms of our cooperation with Iraq.

NEW TIMES: Could Iraq take Soviet citizens hostage and demand fresh arms supplies as a pay for their release?

Belonogov: Any excesses may be possible in this explosive situation. We believe, however, that it is not in Iraq's interest to worsen the relations with the Soviet Union, in the face of a possible Israeli and/or US retaliation. At the same time, Iraq's actions remain vastly unpredictable. We can only hope that Baghdad will be reasonable.

NEW TIMES: Will Israel and the United States be reasonable?

Belonogov: I think the United States strive to preclude any use of force. There has been information about some steps of the US to prevent Tel Aviv-Baghdad incidents.

NEW TIMES: How much combat hardware have we exported to Iraq? Isn't the current situation a warning that caution is necessary when selling arms to "friendly nations"?

Belonogov: Of course, it is. The more so as before the Iraqi aggression we started promoting actively the ideas of military detente in the Middle East. Our objective is to prevent the emergency and proliferation of mass destruction weapons in the Middle East. It has to be said, however, that there are many difficulties. The Arabs immediately linked the problem of chemical weapons with Israel's nuclear capability thus giving the green light to a chemical arms race. Naturally, in the light of the recent developments our entire concept of military cooperation with the countries of the Middle East has to be revised and conclusions drawn.

No More Advisers in Iraq

LD2208132290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1300 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 22 Aug—TASS correspondents Boris Zverev and Sergey Postanogov report from the USSR Foreign Ministry press center.

A decision has been made in the Soviet Union to stop sending military specialists to work in Iraq. This was reported at today's briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry by military expert Colonel Valentin Ogurtsov. He confirmed the figure given earlier for the number of Soviet specialists in Iraq—193—stating that "there will be no increase in their numbers." Instructions have been given, the colonel explained, not to send any more specialists to work there, and the numbers of specialists will decline as their contractual obligations come to an end.

Bonner Questions Relationship

PM2308101990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Letter from Yelena Bonner under the rubric "From Editorial Mail": "Two Questions for the General"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA has published a talk with Lieutenant General V.P. Nikityuk, first deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff Main Directorate. I quote one paragraph from that talk: "...in accordance with the 1972 Soviet-Iraqi treaty on friendship and cooperation we supplied Iraq with a considerable quantity of arms and combat equipment to strengthen its defense capability. I want to stress that these deliveries began in the period when the Iraqi people were struggling for their independence and continued actively during the repulsion of Israeli aggression." These words, uttered at a time when the whole world is tensely following the situation in the Near East, are perplexing. I want to ask the author two questions.

First of all I am by no means clear as to when and against whom Iraq waged the struggle for its independence after the proclamation of the republic 14 July 1958. As far as I know the struggle was within the country—for power, and not for independence. Its stages were the bloody but unsuccessful attempt on the life of the first head of the republic, Colonel 'Abd-al-Karim Qasim, in 1959 with the participation of the present president of Iraq, and the 1963 coup d'etat. It was then that Qasim was simply shot in a Baghdad television studio without investigation or trial. Later all communists were destroyed in the country. Nothing in that struggle for power was a war for independence.

For over 30 years the Iraqi leaders have waged—and are continuing to wage today—a war against the Kurdish national minority, which comprises one quarter of the country's population, and against their right to autonomy within the framework of the Iraqi Republic. Its monstrous cruelty, when tanks and gas are being used to destroy hundreds of Kurdish villages—thousands of civilians, mainly children, women, and old men—and tens of thousands of Kurds are being driven from the land on which their ancestors lived for several thousand years, is confirmed by the materials of the international conference in Paris in October 1989. At the conference I personally read out an appeal from Andrey Sakharov to the United Nations and the heads of the countries belonging to the Security Council, that is also to the Soviet Union. But even earlier Sakharov had made appeals for the ending of the genocide of the Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan. That was after the conclusion of the 1972 treaty between the Soviet Union and Iraq—in 1974 and 1975. Perhaps you call that war a struggle for independence? Or the recent eight-year Iran-Iraq war?

And so my first question: What does the author call a struggle for independence in general and in particular when he applies the words "struggle for independence" to the Republic of Iraq?

My second question is connected with the mention in the interview of deliveries of weapons "during the repulsion of Israel's aggression." I was unable to understand what the lieutenant general had in mind. If it is a case of the operation carried out by the Israeli Air Force to destroy the reactor in Baghdad then this airborne attack was not repelled, although only a few minutes would have been needed to repel it. To this day there is argument as to whether this reactor was a "civilian project" or whether work was under way to create nuclear weapons there, that is essentially argument as to whether Israel had the right to a preventive strike. I am against any "strike" methods. But with my hand on my heart I think (I am sure that many millions of people throughout the world think the same as me) that our present mood would scarcely be improved with the knowledge that that dubious establishment was still in existence when the whole world is calculating with trepidation how many weapons (including missiles with a range of less than 300 km) and how many chemical weapons the Saddam Husayn regime has obtained from its "benefactors."

And so when and where did Iraq repel Israel's aggression? I shall be very grateful if the esteemed Vladimir Pavlovich Nikityuk will reply. Without doubt in public, because I am sure that the answers will be of interest to many people.

[Signed] With respect, Yelena Bonner

Commentaries Analyze Situation in Persian Gulf

U.S. Role Questioned

PM2208133990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Aug 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Yu. Subbotin: "Arabian Western"]

[Text] What makes a Western good? Not only gripping chases and well-aimed shooting from the hip. The ageless genre is deservedly a favorite of Americans, and not just Americans, because its heroes—the "goodies"—for all the twists of the plot invariably catch up with and punish the "baddies."

The pattern is simple and never fails. And, as life shows, it is suitable not only for a cinematographer. While obeying the laws of the genre, the viewer should not start wondering whether the brave settlers and gallant soldiers in the blue uniforms of the U.S. Army who shot the "baddies"—the Indians—so skillfully really were goodies. In just the same way the U.S. taxpayer should not question the sacred right of his compatriots in the paratroopers' camouflage uniform to hunt bloodthirsty Vietcong in the jungles of far-off Indochina, to deal with the Marxists in tiny Grenada who were threatening the security and prosperity of the United States, or to organize the rounding up of a "baddy"—Panama's General Noriega.

And today the Washington scriptwriters are seeking to fit into the simple framework of a Western the dangerous drama which is being played out on the shores of the Persian Gulf.

For complete clarity I shall say immediately that I have no intention of justifying Iraq's actions in any way. Aggression is aggression, however it is motivated. But there is justice and there is mob law. I think there is no need to prove that the latter is absolutely rightly rejected by civilized society. He who sets about controlling justice must at least have the powers to do this and an unsullied reputation and must also be guided by the law which is the same for all, including himself and his wards.

Let's begin with powers. The statement by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar that the actions of the United States and its closest NATO allies in the Persian Gulf region are not in the context of that international organization's decisions and contradict its Charter leave no doubts that such powers do not exist.

Now about reputation. In Washington and also in London and several other Western capitals there is no shortage today of statements about how the sole aim of building up NATO military might in the Middle and Near East is to punish evil and to restore justice. Nonetheless, sober-minded analysts predict that the inevitable result of such actions will be the growth of anti-Western and primarily anti-American sentiments in the region and, on the other hand, the expansion of support for Iraq.

These predictions are by no means unfounded. Large demonstrations in support of Saddam Husayn and his recent proposals have already taken place in a number of Arab capitals and on the territories occupied by Israel. According to news agency reports about 200,000 people took part in a demonstration in Khartoum. In Amman a spokesman for one pro-Iraqi group stated that 80,000 Jordanians, mainly of Palestinian origin, have registered as volunteers prepared to fight on Baghdad's side in the event of a U.S. military strike against Iraq.

What is the reason for this overt distrust in the noble intentions of the "goodies" across the ocean? Is it not that only six months ago the United States itself perpetrated an act of overt aggression against Panama? And is it not that Washington, instead of punitive actions against Israel, which is shamelessly violating international law and norms of morality, is rendering it all-around support?

Having written this I foresee the danger of being accused of supporting Baghdad's initiative, which links the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait with Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories it occupies. No, I do not support linkage. Piracy cannot be justified because others have also committed piracy. But I would be in no hurry to follow the Israeli government in calling Saddam Husayn's initiative "cheap propaganda." There is another side to that coin. As has already been stressed above, the action of laws, including international laws, should be universal, and not selective. And he who assumes the role of their guardian must remember that.

Nonetheless the hasty transfer of new U.S. military contingents to the Gulf region is continuing. The aircraft of civilian airlines have even been enlisted for the purpose. Reserve warships are being rapidly taken out of mothballs.

In the opinion of the Washington "defense information center" organization, expenditure on the deployment and maintenance of the U.S. military contingent in Saudi Arabia will be in excess of $400 million a month. If, as some specialists predict, 250,000 U.S. servicemen are transferred to the Persian Gulf region, this figure could reach $1.69 billion.

But the most interesting thing lies elsewhere. An article published recently by NEWSWEEK citing informed military analysts asserts unequivocally: "...No combination of U.S. ground or naval forces suited to rapid deployment will be able to defend the desert kingdom against Iraq's gigantic army." The emerging peaceful settlement of the many years of conflict between Baghdad and Tehran casts even greater doubt on the feasibility of fulfilling the mission which Washington has widely proclaimed. The Iraqi newspapers have reported that as a result of the settlement a further 30 divisions will be released to counter the U.S. and other foreign forces concentrated in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf.

Why then are colossal sums being spent and why are human lives being put at risk? This question is answered by former U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Joseph Sisco. In an article published in THE WASHINGTON POST he writes:

"In the most favorable circumstances, even if Saddam Husayn retreats at some moment, it will be very important for a long-term naval presence to have been created in the Gulf in order to guarantee access to oil."

The desire to control the world's largest oil deposits and also to defend its own strategic interests and the interests of its allies in the region—primarily Israel—is what in fact lies behind the loud phrases about the defense of justice and self sacrifice.

Even quite recently the United States did not view Saddam Husayn as a "baddy" against whom, according to some reports, the U.S. special services are now preparing plots. On the contrary, he was strenuously courted as a necessary counterweight to revolutionary Iran. But now, according to reports from U.S. sources, the U.S. Administration, through the intermediary of Switzerland and other countries, has begun to sound out the ground in Tehran over the establishment of new relations in order to prompt Iran to strengthen its forces on the border with Iraq and to compel Baghdad to withdraw some of its troops from the Kuwaiti front. It is true that people across the ocean are already voicing fears that President Saddam Husayn has bypassed the United States in this matter, at least for the time being.

Such are the immutable "principles" of U.S. policy. As for Britain, which is confidently advancing in its wake, it is also pursuing its own utterly clear aims. In displaying a "tough line," as it did during the Falklands conflict, the conservative government is actively collecting political points. Margaret Thatcher is making masterly use of the opportunity which has been provided her for showing the whole world that when crises arise the key decisions in the Western countries' camp are taken by Washington and London. Moreover, a few days after President Bush's declared decision to send U.S. troops to Saudi Arabia, the U.S. press started to say that it was Thatcher who had persuaded the head of the administration to take this step, giving a push to a new stage in the special relations between the United States and Britain.

The situation in the Persian Gulf region today is extremely complex and explosive. It requires balanced and coordinated actions by the whole world community, not saber-rattling for the sake of individual interests, which could only be the detonator for a new explosion. Attempts to make a western out of this material promise no one a happy end.

Must Avoid 'Hasty Decisions'

LD2308133290 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] In the past few days the Soviet leadership has stepped up its efforts to find a peaceful solution to the crisis in the Persian Gulf. Yuriy Solton makes these comments:

The explosive situation in the Persian Gulf is not changing for the better. The question arises: have all political possibilities been used for restoring justice and peace in the region or is the use of force inevitable? The Soviet Union believes that in such a serious matter as the use of armed force, hasty decisions must be avoided and maximum caution displayed. Hence the well-weighed approach of the Soviet as well as Chinese representatives to the discussion a the UN Security Council of the draft resolution on a naval blockade of Iraq.

Some people in the West have taken this for a hint at Soviet departure from its old stand. Such implications have nothing to do with reality. Like before, the Soviet Union proceeds from the assumption that Baghdad should carry out the demand of the Security Council and withdraw its troops from Kuwait. It must be emphasized that already several hours after the Iraqi invasion in Kuwait the Soviet Union stopped arms sales to Baghdad. The 193 Soviet military advisers still remaining there are not involved in planning military operations or carrying them out. Their number will be reduced. As for collective actions against Iraq, here too the Soviet Union will be guided by Security Council resolutions.

Without backing on its principled stand, Moscow does not think it necessary to break off its contacts with Iraq. The main reason is to convince the Iraqi leadership of the necessity to carry out the Security Council resolutions. The Soviet Union maintains contacts with other Arab states that should be interested in the normalization of the situation most of all. The Saudi Arabian envoy who brought to Moscow a personal message to Mikhail Gorbachev from King Fahd has told newsmen that the Arab world thinks highly of the Soviet stand. Neither has the political dialogue with Washington stopped. There is a regular exchange of opinions on the developments in the Persian Gulf. On Wednesday President Bush told journalists that cooperation with the Soviet Union is perfect.

Moscow feels that the potential of political solutions has not been exhausted yet. A large-scale armed clash in the Persian Gulf can still be prevented.

Peace Options 'Not Exhausted'

LD2208161490 Moscow TASS in English 1550 GMT 22 Aug 90

[By TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov]

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—International public, including the Soviet public, is increasingly concerned over the aggravation of the Persian Gulf crisis. The Soviet Union is firmly in favour of restoring by peaceful political means the situation that existed in the region before August 2.

At the same time Moscow received with satisfaction the results of the first joint meeting of ambassadors and military representatives of the member-states of the military staff committee of the United Nations Security Council.

This meeting strengthened the hope that the committee will get into operation and that it undoubtedly can play an important positive role in connection with the Persian Gulf crisis.

A number of organs of the international press, specifically the British newspaper THE SUNDAY TIMES, commenting on the situation around Kuwait writes that there is "secret cooperation" in the military area between the USSR and the United States.

It should be noted in this connection that the USSR, just as the overwhelming majority of countries, condemns the use of force for recarving state frontiers.

The Soviet Union counts on reasonableness and responsibility of Arab countries and their regional organisations, relies on powers and rights of the United Nations, the Security Council, and intends to act only in the framework of collective efforts towards the settlement of the conflict.

As to "sensational" article in the THE SUNDAY TIMES, things are much simpler in reality. It is well known that contacts in the military sphere were recently established by the United States and the USSR and are being developed.

TASS learned from the press centre of the USSR Defence Ministry that in the framework of such contacts, Soviet attache for defence at the Soviet Embassy in the United States, Grigoryevich Yakovlev, visited the Pentagon the other day. In view of Washington's concern over the developments and in response to the request of the U.S. side, he gave some information about the USSR's cooperation with Iraq along military lines.

As is known, the USSR supplied Iraq at different periods with "ground-to-ground" missile complexes, T-72 tanks, MiG-23, MiG-29 and Tu-22 aircraft and some other armaments.

It was noted specifically, that the USSR has never supplied chemical weapons to any country.

It was noted that there are no Soviet military advisers in Iraq. There are some 200 military specialists there. Their purpose is to help learn to operate the supplied military equipment. They did not and do not take any part in the planning and waging of military operations.

The Soviet attache for defence established that, as is believed in Moscow, the possibilities of settling the conflict by peaceful means, without the use of military forces, are far from exhausted. He expressed the hope that in this complex situation the U.S. side will show a sober and balanced approach to the developments.

It should be noted that the USSR agreed to sell arms to Iraq only for the maintenance of its defence potential and not for the seizure of lands of others.

Guided by the principle that Security Council's decisions are obligatory for all United Nations member-countries, the USSR intends to observe the regime of sanctions imposed by Resolution 661, until the Persian Gulf crisis is overcome. Together with other countries, members of the internatonal community, the USSR intends to do its utmost to put an end to the aggression for the sake of the victory of reason and law.

Soviets Take 'Principled Stand'

LD2208121190 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] In Moscow, Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze have conferred with Iraq's deputy prime minister, Sa'dun Hammadi.

Aleksandr Pogodin comments, and this is what he writes:

I would like to call attention to two aspects of this matter:

First, the consistent and principled stand taken by the Soviet Union towards the critical situation in the Persian Gulf caused by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. The USSR insists on restoring the state of affairs that existed before 2 August, that is on the pullout of Iraqi troops from Kuwaiti territory. It will comply with the regime of sanctions against Iraq in accordance with the relevant resolution adopted by the UN Security Council until the crisis is settled.

At the same time, the Soviet Union proceeds from the assumption that everything in human power should be done to settle the conflict by political means. The idea is not to appease the aggressor but avoid a large-scale military collision with unpredictable consequences. That is why the USSR has not rejected outright Iraq's latest proposals, as some Western countries did. These proposals contain elements meriting attention and Soviet experts are now closely studying Iraq's plans.

In any case, the Soviet Union believes that all actions in the Persian Gulf area should be carried out strictly on the basis of decisions taken by the Security Council. So far, after consultations at the most important UN body, it has been decided to delay voting on the draft resolution concerning new sanctions against Iraq to give more time to the Security Council members to consider the problem thoroughly.

For the time being, the Soviet Union stands for ensuring the effectiveness of political and economic decisions already taken; nevertheless, it is taking part in discussions held in the framework of the Security Council's military staff committee.

To evaluate the situation and try to foresee the possible development of events, not bring it to a dangerous line by rush actions, would be the most sensible course now.

Iraq's Actions in Iran Examined

NC2308104290 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Station commentary]

[Text] Two years have passed since the Iran-Iraq cease-fire which put an end to the eight years of bloody war and began the chapter on mutual peace which has affected developments in the Persian Gulf. Our commentator writes on this:

The second anniversary of the cease-fire coincided with the strong tension in the Persian Gulf as a result of Iraq's occupation and annexation of Kuwait. Under such circumstances, should we not go back and look at the incident that sparked off the developments toward peace? Under such circumstances, is it not necessary to pay respects to the bravery and responsibility displayed by the Iranian and Iraqi leaders who found in themselves the determination to overcome mutual hostility and opportunism and to work toward the peace-seeking aspirations of all their peoples with good will? We think that it is most opportune to do so today, at least as a warning, because the Iraqi aggression has revived the situation created during the Iran-Iraq war. And now we can once again see the very same warmongering haughtiness, the same chimerical calculations, and the same inhuman acts.

Just as they did before the cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq front, the Iraqi leaders are trying to solve the existing problem—an outlet to the Persian Gulf—through unfit methods. When they saw that it was impossible to expand Iraq's coasts at Iran's expense, it was decided to occupy Kuwait. Saddam Husayn is acting like King Frederick the Great of Prussia, who said: If you need a province, occupy it. All the necessary lawyers will be found later on to justify your act.

Saddam based the justification of his illegal acts in annexing Kuwait on those historic observations. But he has forgotten that the era of onslaughts is over. The world will never accept aggression and occupation. The experience of the Iran-Iraq war, the nonrecognition of Israel's occupation of territories, Vietnam, Afghanistan, and so on are proofs of this.

This of course does not mean that Iraq could not have solved its problems concerning an outlet to the sea on the basis of agreements with its neighbors. Had the neighboring countries refused Iraq anything? The oil pipes that ensure Iraq's oil sales pass through Saudi Arabian and Turkish territories. After all, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates extended financial assistance to Iraq on several occasions, and Jordan recently offered services to it. Today the path that leads to a country's welfare and development passes through cooperation, not through the occupation of territories and plunderings.

At a time when the Persian Gulf crisis is becoming exacerbated, fruitful progress has been made in Iran-Iraq relations. Iraqi forces are being withdrawn from Iranian territories. Prisoners of war are being exchanged between the two countries.

Does this mean that Baghdad has given up its expansionist plans? Will Iraq be sincere in the joint peace agreements with Iran? It is difficult to answer these questions. We know that Baghdad had signed the Algiers pact, but it later abrogated it. And today its peace-seeking overtures toward Iran at a time when Kuwait has been occupied are considered as a maneuver by the world.

I think that the Iraqi regime has not yet lost everything. It can emerge from full international isolation and start to move realistically in order to bring the country out of the crisis. But in order to do so, it should strengthen its peaceful initiative toward Iran by withdrawing Iraqi forces from Kuwait.

Najibullah Meets With Gorbachev, Shevardnadze

LD2308155590 Moscow TASS in English 1512 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Tex] Moscow August 23 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev and Eduard Shevardnadze today conferred with Afghan President Najibullah, who is on vacation in the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev described in detail the situation in the country, the contents and importance of major problems, which are to be solved in the near and medium term and in the future.

The approaches to these solutions, which are being intensively elaborated now, should ensure a correct option, enabling the country to implement the main plan of restructuring.

In view of the urgency of this work, Gorbachev cut short his vacation. The decisions, to be adopted, will also enhance the capacities of the Soviet Union as one of the major elements of world politics.

Reflecting on the difficulties of the movement towards the goal, which vary widely in their essence in each of the countries, but require enormous strain in both of them, the sides also found analogies: The activity by some figures and groups, which is destructive with regard to their state and its international potential, brings them closer despite the vast differences of conditions.

Najibullah told about measures taken to achieve a peaceful, political setlement of the Afghan problem and analysed the tendency towards normalising the situation, towards national reconciliation, which commands mounting support.

The statesmen compared the evaluations of positions vis-a-vis Afghanistan held by various states and their evolutions. The well-considered account of all internal and foreign policy changes to speed up the process leading to a halt in bloodshed and the establishment of peace on the Afghan land is already producing results.

The exchange of views has held on the possible developments in connection with Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

The statesmen addressed, in principled terms, bilateral ties and commitments on the guidelines of interaction and cooperation. They emphasised the importance of enhancing its mutually advantageous nature.

The sides conferred about the roots and traditions of good relations between the peoples of their countries. They drew attention to the need to take care of these traditions, despite the drama through which they went through, and to overcome its grave consequences.

They concurred that it is undue to encroach on the feelings of those in the Soviet Union, whom destiny linked with Afghanistan, and those in Afghanistan who linked their destiny with the Afghan-Sovit friendship. It is in the interests of both states to do everything for their peoples to remain friends. This policy also determines the practice of Soviet-Afghan relations.

Pakistan's Position on Afghanistan Criticized

PM2308083990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 5

["Political Observer's Opinion" by Vitaliy Kobysh: "Benazir Bhutto and Others"]

[Text] First the others. There are many of them and they are military men. They have been in power in Pakistan for almost the entire 43 years of that country's independent existence. According to certain figures Pakistan spends up to half of its budget on military purposes. The main military headquarters is the so-called interdepartmental intelligence administration, which is wholly controlled by the CIA. For many years the United States has channeled military and all kinds of other aid to the mujahidin "freedom fighters" in Afghanistan and to terrorists in Kashmir and the Punjab through this all-powerful administration.

It was only in 1970 that the first general elections were held in Pakistan, but they changed nothing. In 1977 further elections were held, but they too brought no result. Power was seized by General Ziaul Haq, who established a particularly savage regime. There were executions and reprisals. This black night lasted 11 years.

In May 1988 Ziaul Haq, who had declared himself president the moment he came to power, announced unscheduled parliamentary elections. Everything was prepared for him to win a victory, but in August of that year Zia was killed in an air crash, the reason for which has still not been discovered. In 1988 relatively free elections were held in the country. To everyone's surprise and to the delight of most Pakistanis the winner was 35-year-old Benazir Bhutto, who was guaranteed people's sympathies by the fact that Ziaul Haq had hanged her father, the prime minister.

Leader of the Pakistan People's Party, which enjoyed the greatest mass support although being relatively amorphous, Benazir Bhutto became prime minister. It was an unprecedented phenomenon in the Islamic world for an attractive woman educated in the United States and Britain and the author of popular books to become premier.

Most Pakistanis saw her coming to power as a sign of a change for the better. The Army generals received the news with a condescending smirk. Washington, the invariable participant in any political modifications in Pakistan, greeted the news with concern and suspicion. The main thing worrying the U.S. departments—above all the special services—was whether this unexpected turn of events in Pakistani affairs would affect the war in Afghanistan, which was essentially conducted from Pakistani territory and primarily with the help of U.S. weapons.

The small, fragile woman who found herself in the prime minister's seat had to shoulder a considerable burden. She was controlled on all sides and not allowed to take any independent steps. It was noted, for instance, how everything was done during E.A. Shevardnadze's visit to Pakistan at the start of last year to prevent him from being alone with Benazir Bhutto for a second. Those who were actually running Pakistan definitely did not trust her.

Miracles do not happen. On 6 August this year Benazir Bhutto was removed from her post. Another coup. Yet another series of arrests, reprisals, and "witch-hunts." The ex-premier herself, stating that she had been ousted by the special services, did not specify whose special services. I think that there are several reasons for this. I think she is hoping to return to power and therefore does not want to reveal all the secrets of the political mechanism that operates in Pakistan. Moreover, she probably does not want to pick a quarrel with the United States.

Some clarification should be made here. Benazir Bhutto is clearly feeling particularly bitter at the moment. The coup in the country was technically staged by the Pakistani special services. There is no doubt that they acted, if not on the orders, at least with the permission of the U.S. special services—something Benazir Bhutto is keeping quiet about. I repeat that she is most likely still counting on support from the powerful country that became her second home.

Why are others keeping quiet about the real people behind the Pakistani coup? I don't know: Either they have inadequate information or they too are afraid of the United States.

To be fair, our protests were insufficiently vocal, too. Why? Are we too scared of annoying Washington? One would hope not. I am all the more convinced that telling the truth out loud about the real motives behind events in Pakistan will in no way hamper the formation of new thinking in the world and will not seriously damage Soviet-U.S. relations. Clearly, it is more important to proceed on another tack: This timely truth would be gratefully received by the peoples not only of Pakistan, but of Afghanistan—which is "bound up" with it—and the entire Muslim world.

One other point. Imagine a situation (I do not definitely rule out the possibility) whereby the special services chicken out in the face of the people's anger and Benazir Bhutto returns to power. What will she think of a neighboring great power which for some reason keeps quiet at difficult times, and how will this affect Pakistani-Soviet relations?

People could say to me that it is easy to ask questions without bearing the full burden of state responsibility. The responsibility of one man and a great power—even if it is called "state" responsibility—is not the same thing. I did not have to share my ideas with you, I am under no illusion that they will change anything. But I know for sure that a great power, even if it is economically dependent to a certain extent, should not keep quiet when another even greater power breaks the rules of international behavior. We recall our "semi-silence" when the United States crucified Grenada and, a few years later, when it trampled Panama. It is a fact that the Soviet Union's "semi-silence" has not boosted its prestige everywhere, particularly in Latin America.

I very much doubt that this passivity, if not timidity, has ever helped to improve our relations with the United States. I know at first hand that people in the United States—and probably everywhere, incidentally—respect a firm and consistent partner rather than a trimmer. Only numbskulls are offended by the truth. And we have no reason to believe that there are any in the current U.S. Administration. Quite the contrary. Since the time of F.D. Roosevelt or possibly J. Kennedy there has never been in power in the broad sense—including Congress—such a cohesive "team" of well-trained and even enlightened politicians as there is at present.

This last point came to light suddenly. During our patent embarrassment and "semi-silence" people in the United States were not silent. A group of influential U.S. senators appealed to G. Bush to make any future aid to Pakistan (we know just what this "aid" is) contingent on the holding of free and open elections in that country within the next 90 days. The message from senators headed by E. Kennedy points out that B. Bhutto's removal from power was a step aimed "against a democratically elected government." Such actions as the Army's seizure of state television, the establishment of control over the country's phone system, and the declaration of a state of emergency "do not correspond to the statements about a democratic and civilized way of transferring power," the message states. According to AP, Islamabad is due to receive $582 million in U.S. aid this year.

These honest voices are being raised in the United States. This is important because, when it comes to Pakistan, a great deal depends on the United States. Indian political circles, for instance, definitely believe that the key to a settlement in Pakistan is held by Washington. "...The United States will be of decisive importance," THE TIMES OF INDIA newspaper stresses. "According to one theory widespread in Islamabad, the United States knew about Bhutto's impending dismissal. Indeed, Washington, disappointed with her inability to control the situation in Sind (a Pakistani province where there has been mass bloodshed on ethnic grounds—V.K.) and increasingly irritated by her sharp anti-American sentiments, may even have hastened her ouster. According to this theory, Pakistani hard-liners, knowing of the Americans' concern about the Iraqi seizure of Kuwait, are again dreaming of turning their country into a front-line state relying on generous U.S. aid in cash and weapons."

The argument that there is no time for Pakistan at the moment because the explosive events in the Persian Gulf overshadow everything is thus absurd. First, the "constitutional coup" in Pakistan turned out to be timed to directly coincide with the conflict in the Persian Gulf. Second, Pakistan's geographic proximity to the Gulf would, in the event of a major war, inevitably lead to that country participating in the war under the banner of an "Islamic revolution." The Pakistani military is no less ambitious and aggressive than Saddam Husayn and his accomplices. India again considers that in order to divert attention from its own internal problems Pakistan could at any moment launch a military adventure against this great peace-loving Asian country. "...The notorious interdepartmental intelligence administration, which actively supports the Afghan mujahidin as well as Sikh and Kashmiri terrorists," THE TIMES OF INDIA warns, "is losing no time in restoring its influence and, moreover, will threaten India's territorial integrity. The choice facing India is clear: It must prepare for a most dangerous development of events."

That is the situation. A very serious situation.

Soviet, Israeli Chambers of Commerce Sign Accord

LD2008194690 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] The Trade and Industrial Chamber of the Soviet Union and the Federation of Israeli Chambers of Commerce have signed an agreement on establishing direct economic contacts between the two countries. (?Under it) a mission of the non-governmental Soviet organization will be opened in Tel Aviv and the first (?Soviet) commercial exhibition will be held there next year. A similar Israeli exhibition will open in Moscow.

Voronin, Indian Foreign Minister Meet on Ties

LD1508180790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Aug 90

[Text] Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, had a meeting today with Gujral, the Indian foreign minister. He handed over a message for the USSR president from Singh, the Indian prime minister. During a conversation which took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere, Gujral and Voronin discussed matters relating to the further development and improvement of Soviet-Indian cooperation.

The visitor was in Moscow on a brief working visit. The previous day he had had a meeting wth Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister.

New Sri Lankan Minister Counsellor Appointed

LD2108235090 Moscow TASS in English 0956 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 21 TASS—The Soviet Union has appointed Gennadiy Yefimov as minister counsellor at its embassy in Sri Lanka.

Yefimov was born in 1935. He entered the diplomatic service in 1965 after graduating from Moscow's Institute of Foreign Relations. He is candidate of legal sciences.

Lately he has worked as chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry International Legal Department. Yefimov has the rank of minister counsellor extraordinary and plenipotentiary, second class.

East Europe

Polish Official Cited on Warsaw Pact Prospects

LD2208160190 Moscow TASS in English 1524 GMT 22 Aug 90

[by TASS correspondent Andrey Pershin]

[Text] Warsaw August 22 TASS—A lively discussion is under way in Poland on the future of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (WTO) and on the republic's role and place in the WTO reorganisation.

An official point of view on the issue was expressed, in an interview published in the newspaper RZECH POSPOLITA by Jerzy Nowak, a departmental chief at the Polish Foreign Ministry.

He represents the Polish Government at the talks on the reorganisation of the WTO.

Nowak said he did not rule out the possibility of the WTO's disintegration and even break-up. The ideological factor, which was an artificially created binding element, has already disappeared from the WTO. One of the WTO member-states, the German Democratic Republic, is about to cease to exist as the subject of international relations. The other six countries adhere to various approaches to WTO membership.

At the same time, Nowak believes, since the situation in Central and Eastern Europe is not quite stable, a quick dissolution of the WTO could result in a "vacuum" which can be filled by various forces, including nationalist ones.

In order to avert such process, it is necessary to consider the question of reorganising the WTO into a kind of "club" of states interested in the maintenance of stability in the region, and in consultations with one another on disarmament issues and on the building of a new security system in Europe. That could be a treaty on collective self-defence in the form it was recorded in the United Nations charter.

Poland reserves the right to any option, including a withdrawal from the WTO, Nowak pointed out. He mentioned the observance of the principles of equality and sovereignty of the member-states and the prevention of the Soviet Union's hegemony as a condition for Poland's WTO membership.

CSFR Historian Interviewed on 'Prague Spring'

LD2108165190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0754 GMT 21 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Igor Shamshin]

[Excerpt] Prague, 21 Aug (TASS)—"We went to Moscow to draw up plans for joint work to study the historic period connected with the introduction of Warsaw Pact troops to Czechoslovakia in August 1968. If the invasion had not taken place we could have won 10 years for the process of detente. Second, we wanted to discuss with Soviet historians the possibility of convening an international conference on that period," reported Vojtech Mencl, chairman of the government commission analyzing events in 1967-70, to a TASS correspondent. He was the leader of a delegation of Czechoslovak historians who on 14-16 August held a series of talks in the USSR Foreign Ministry and the Soviet Union's Academy of Sciences.

The collective which Vojtech Mencl heads has to give an objective historical appraisal of the tragic period connected with the violent suppression of reforms in Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovak society awaits the commission's conclusions with impatience. The political development of the CSFR depends to a great extent on whether the whole chain of facts is successfully and reliably restored.

"All the Czechoslovak archives are open to us," continued Vojtech Mencl. "Copies of most important documents are with our employees. Sixty thousand pages of documentation have already been collected. We don't need to engage in conjectures. We are in contact with all historical information. We want to throw out all the useless emotional outer skin and to extract the rational core from what is left."

"We would very much like our Soviet colleagues to have the same opportunities as ourselves to study archive materials. Otherwise they will not be able to be our equal partners in the study of the period of the 'Prague Spring'."

Answering a question about prospects for further cooperation between the CSFR and the Soviet Union, Vojtech Mencl stressed that the most critical moment for our countries is now behind us. A qualitatively new stage in Soviet-Czechoslovak relations began from the moment that the Soviet Government admitted that the introduction of troops to Czechoslovakia was a mistake. [passage omitted]

Soviet Pullout From GDR Begins

LD2208155490 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT 22 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Katyayev]

[Text] Berlin August 22 TASS—Heavy military equipment was loaded onto trains today as Soviet forces began their pullout from the town of Neuruppin 60 kilometers from Berlin.

The first train with Soviet troops and equipment will leave for the USSR tonight.

The East German news agency ADN reported that the withdrawal is being carried out in keeping with the USSR's disarmament measures.

Political & Social

Problems of Strikes, Interethnic Conflict Noted

Costs Top 935 Million Rubles

LD2308084790 Moscow TASS in English 0839 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Direct losses from strikes and inter-ethnic conflicts in the Soviet Union during the first six months of 1990 amounted to 935 million roubles, the Soviet GLASNOST newspaper reports.

Nearly 65,000 people were kept away from work every day by stoppages and ethnic conflicts, the newspaper says. More than 19 million roubles were paid to strikers during this period.

The newspaper stresses that strikes are only one part of the plummeting discipline which is disrupting the economy and society as a whole.

Negative effects conditioned by this include the slowdown of the social production growth rate, the reduction of efficiency and growing tension on the consumer market.

Casualty Figures Cited

PM2308090590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Dimensions of Conflicts"]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Aug—In the past two and one-half years 946 people have died in interethnic conflicts, 8,652 have been injured, and there have been 4,648 pogroms. According to the most modest calculations the material damage has been about R10 billion, it was reported today at a sitting of the expanded collegium of the USSR Prosecutor's Office. The population's enforced migration has assumed enormous dimensions. About 600,000 people have left their places of permanent residence. The problem of refugees has affected eight Union republics and half the regions of Russia. In Armenia 230,000 people have left their homes, in Azerbaijan the figure is 200,000, and in Russia about 150,000. Hundreds of thousands of citizens are leaving the country and many give as their reason the interethnic problem.

In this situation certain forces are easily provoking acts of civil disobedience, pogroms, and murders and are disorganizing the economy. Ideas of national exclusiveness are being introduced into the consciousness of people, especially young people. It was noted at the collegium that the prosecutor's office organs are far from making full use of their influence in all places to curb and halt the emerging conflicts.

Crime Statistics Reported

PM2308085190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 90 Second Edition p 6

["Own Information" report: "Laws Must Be Made To Operate"]

[Text] Over the past seven months about 1.5 million crimes were committed in the country, which is 14 percent more than for the same period last year. Every day about 7,000 crimes are committed while three years ago the figure was 5,000. About 600,000 of our fellow citizens have left their places of permanent residence and become refugees and hundreds of thousands are leaving to live abroad.

These and similar figures and facts were heard yesterday in the reports by USSR deputy general prosecutors V.I. Kravtsov and I.P. Abramov at an expanded sitting of the collegium of the USSR Prosecutor's office under the chairmanship of USSR General Prosecutor A. Ya. Sukharev. The sitting examined the state of legality and law and order in the country under the conditions of the aggravated interethnic relations and defined the tasks under prosecutor's office supervision in this complex period.

In their speeches the republic, kray, and oblast prosecutors and military and transport prosecutors who took part in the collegium's work noted in a self-critical way that the efforts of the prosecutor's office and other law enforcement organs to introduce order in the country are so far failing to produce the expected results. The level of crime, especially its serious manifestations, has reached the danger mark. The situation in prisons has been sharply aggravated. The eruption of organized crime, the high degree of technical equipment of criminal groupings, and their emergence into the economic structures of society are giving rise to serious concern. But the acuteness of the crime situation is not meeting with an adequate assessment or response from the state authorities and organs of law and order or the public.

R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities; A.A. Mokanu, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of the Union; Yu.V. Golik and G.S. Tarazevich, chairmen of committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Ye.A. Smolentsev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court; and other responsible workers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, law enforcement organs, CPSU Central Committee, and ministries and departments took part in the work of the collegium.

CPSU Secretariat Discusses Current Problems

LD2208223990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1535 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 22 August (TASS)—Questions posed to the delegates of the 28th congress and to members of the

Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the CPSU who visited republics and oblasts were examined at a routine sitting of the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee.

The numerous meetings with labor collectives and the public show that the desire to renew the forms and methods of the party's activity and to subordinate the purpose of its affairs to the aspirations of Soviet people is meeting with understanding according to Aleksandr Dzasokhov, member of the Politburo and CPSU Central Committee secretary. He was speaking on the trips made after the 28th congress by congress delegates, members of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the CPSU to a number of republics and oblasts. At the same time, more energetic and tangible steps to improve the situation in the socioeconomic sphere and to implement urgent measures to stabilize the political situation in society are expected of the party, party organizations, and Communists.

Oleg Baklanov, CPSU Central Committee secretary, shared his impressions of his trip to the Dnepropetrovsk Oblast. He met and talked with staff of the defense sector. Questions of social protection and employment in production have become exacerbated there. The problem of conversion, he noted, is unfortunately being resolved in a weak and poorly qualified way.

Yegor Stroyev, CPSU Central Committee secretary, said that many questions on improving the population's supply of foodstuffs arose in conversations with working people in cities and villages in a number of oblasts of the Ukraine and Kazakhstan. In connection with this, opinions were expressed that the situation that evolved during harvest time demands more decisive and urgent measures on the part of the central and local bodies to mobilize the urban and rural population to guarantee timely and high-quality harvesting and the preservation of everything that has been grown.

Informing the Central Committee Secretariat of the results of meetings and conversations with the party aktiv, Communists, and working people of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, Oleg Shenin, CPSU Central Committee secretary, said that the majority of those who spoke evaluated the sociopolitical situation in this republic as complex and tense. Industrial production is dropping, crime is rising, pressure on supporters of socialist perestroyka is growing and the rights and freedoms of working people are being attacked.

Under the pretext of the reorganization of state, production, and various social structures, consciencious and highly principled cadres who stand on socialist and internationalist principles are being replaced in Lithuania. This particularly manifests itself in the relationships of the leaders and specialists of enterprises and organizations that are subject to Union control. The CPSU Central Committee secretary noted that in these difficult conditions the Central Committee of the Communist Party and party committees of Lithuania began to act more energetically after the 28th CPSU Congress. On their part, the original confusion is being overcome and political initiative is being displayed.

Valentin Kuptsov, CPSU Central Committee secretary, stressed that questions of stabilization of the sociopolitical situation, solution of national problems, and unity of the Union occupied a particular place in the conversations with Communists and working people of the Kirov Oblast.

Galina Semenova, CPSU Central Committee secretary, recently had a series of meeting with the women's aktiv, with representatives of the Moscow Women's Council. Those whom she met noted with concern that local authorities are taking insufficient real measures to improve living conditions.

Yuriy Manayenkov, CPSU Central Committee secretary, conveyed the alarm of Communists in the localities that vital questions on guaranteeing people's livelihood should not be lost sight of in the heat of political discussions.

At the sitting of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat, serious critical remarks were addressed to the party organizations of those state and soviet bodies whose actions are giving rise to just reprimands from the population.

The Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee appealed to all central committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics, and of kray and oblast committees of the party, to guarantee systematic and broad direct contact, meetings and gatherings with the population at places of work and residence, and to react sympathetically to all questions raised.

Dzasokhov Speaks at Secretariat

LD2208220390 Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] A member of the Politburo, a secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, Aleksandr Dzasokhov, has said that the Soviet people have reacted with understanding to the party's desire to renew the forms and methods of its activity and adjust it to the needs of the people. He spoke at a meeting of the Central Committee's Secretariat, which viewed the results of a tour of a number of republics and regions by delegates to last month's 28th party congress. At the same time, speakers at the meeting said that the Soviet people expect the Communists to take more resolute steps to improve the social-economic sphere, stabilize the political situation, and clamp down on crime.

CPSU Holds News Conference on Party History

LD2208211790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1336 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 22 Aug (TASS)—A news conference held at the CPSU Central Committee press center today was devoted to the activities of the CPSU Central Committee's scientific and educational establishments and their role in contemporary life. The press conference was attended by Georgiy Smirnov, director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPSU Central Committee, and Aleksandr Galkin, rector of the Institute of Social Science attached to the CPSU Central Committee.

It was noted at the press conference that contemporary processes in the development of the party are highly complex and contradictory. Many pages in its history are being rewritten. Whereas this historical record used to be devoted solely to an account of Bolshevik Party activities, now other parties are being drawn back into the chronicle. Justice is being done to "forgotten" figures of the revolutionary period. The first volumes of a new party history are now being prepared for publication. In the near future readers will also be able to acquaint themselves with the stenographic records of the 19th and 20th party congresses, which have never yet been published.

Ministry Views Foreign Contacts for New Parties

PM2308080990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by Ye. Berlin: "For Contacts Without Discrimination"]

[Text] Clearly, this [the "contacts without discrimination" mentioned in the headline] was the main issue raised by the representatives of a number of new parties and social movements in the country who came to the USSR Foreign Ministry Consular Administration 16 August. The meeting—and such meetings have now become traditional at the Foreign Ministry—discussed consular backup for international ties for those who had until recently been called "informals."

V. Zelenov, chief of the Foreign Ministry Consular Administration, stated that the Consular Administration does not permit any discrimination against legally existing new social formations. "One of our administration's functions," he said, "is to make it possible for you to develop your international ties."

Those present were given details on the efforts being made by the USSR Foreign Ministry at Union and international levels in the sphere of facilitating contacts between people. It was stressed that Soviet diplomats are prepared to make the utmost effort to liberalize the conditions for international contacts, first and foremost in Europe.

However, by no means everything depends on the Foreign Ministry. The creation of identical and equal conditions for the development of international contacts by all parties and social organizations—without dividing them into "ours" and "others"—presupposes the implementation of an entire range of measures. The USSR law on entry and exit procedures, which is under examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet, should give a boost to their implementation.

The most acute problem raised during the meeting was material backup for international contacts. As L. Alimov, deputy chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party, said: "It is shameful to feel that we are poor, when you meet with Genscher in the FRG and haven't got a single mark in your pocket."

Where can our party change money when it sends a delegation abroad, and how much can it change? What restrictions on exchanging foreign currency will remain in force in the future? It would be appropriate to hear the response of the USSR Ministry of Finance to these questions. Soviet parliamentarians should also make their contribution to the debate during the adoption of the law on entry and exit procedures.

The meeting participants agreed on practical collaboration when arranging foreign trips by representatives of new parties and organizations or when they are invited abroad as guests. The Consular Administration has specially assigned an officer to maintain ties with social organizations on consular issues.

AFP Reports KGB Antiterrorist Unit Missions

AU2308114090 Paris AFP in English 1042 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, Aug 23 (AFP)—A special KGB antiterrorist unit has conducted more than 40 missions since it was created, the unit's chief, Colonel Karpukhin, said Thursday.

Quoted in the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, Col. Karpukhin cited one mission involving the liberation of hostages held by prisoners in Sukhumi, Abkhazia, in the Caucasus.

Col. Karpukhin, whose name was appearing in the press for the first time, did not furnish details about the KGB's anti-terrorist squad. He said only that members are recruited voluntarily, usually from other KGB departments or from the Soviet border control. "We're a very small unit, but we have enough agents for our needs at the moment," he said.

Two anti-terrorist agents have been killed and 37 injured on duty, Col. Karpukhin said.

Soviet authorities have underscored the necessity of an anti-terrorist squad in view of the increase in recent years of hijackings and prison riots in which hostages are taken.

TASS Examines Problems Facing Gorbachev

LD2208153590 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT 22 Aug 90

[By TASS world service analyst Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev may well consider the military exercises he recently witnessed on the Black Sea coast no more than a child's play in comparison with the political maneuvering he will have to do upon his return to Moscow.

The president's top priority list includes work to try to rescue from complete disintegration the already fragmenting Soviet Federation (or at least to impart a civilised character to the divorce procedure that is already underway), to give the ailing Soviet economy a resolute push towards market relations, and to finally pull the plug on the already terminally ill but still dangerous power-and-pressure system.

Mikhail Gorbachev is entering the new political season in his usual role as the supreme arbiter of the country's various warring political forces.

However, the combatants are no longer what they used to be. Only six months ago, the watershed passed between the Soviet Communist Party and the fledgling opposition. Today, the demarcation line is between the federal government and the new leaderships of union republics, above all Russia, the most powerful of all Soviet republics.

And the climax seems near. After Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin decided together to set up a group of economists, diplomatic equivocations and understatements were discarded and the first salvos were fired in the real war of nerves.

The Russian authorities regard the creation of the group as Yeltsin's mandate to work out his own economic policy, independent from the federal government, which, for its part, insists on its own economic policy monopoly.

Last Friday, Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov expressed bewilderment concerning the fact that the group created to consider economic aspects in the preparation of a new union treaty, turned instead to the preparation of an alternative programme for the transition to the market.

Three days later, the Russian parliament, represented by one of its leaders Ruslan Khasbulatov, declared that it had no confidence in the union government, clothing its viewpoint in rhetoric unprecedent in Soviet politics.

The statement Khasbulatov read, despite his repeated protestations of loyalty to the Soviet president, could well be viewed not only as an attempt to have the president on his side but also as a disguised ultimatum.

Whatever the complexity of political forecasting in the rapidly changing situation in the Soviet Union, some predictions are likely to be borne out. The main one is that the federal government will face hard times at the forthcoming session of the Soviet parliament. In order to stay at the helm, Nikolay Ryzhkov will have to use all his skills, incorporating in his own programme for transition to the market all alternative proposals, including those put forth by his opponents.

The government seems to have embarked on this path already. Only time will show whether it is enough.

Internal Affairs Minister Fields Questions

PM2308082790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Aug 90 First Edition pp 1, 2

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel V. Kosarev on readers' phone-in with V.V. Bakatin, member of the Presidential Council and USSR minister of internal affairs, date not given; published under the rubric "Feedback Telephone: Dialogue With Readers": "V.V. Bakatin: Times Have Changed"—first two paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] From 1000 to 1200 every workday morning the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA feedback telephone line on 941-24-40 is the busiest in the editorial office. But on the days when on this line readers can contact our guests—people known throughout the country whom, incidentally, we invite precisely at your request—there are practically no pauses between calls.

That was how it was on this occasion too, when V.V. Bakatin, member of the Presidential Council and USSR minister of internal affairs, came at the scheduled time, announced in advance in the newspaper, to meet with readers via the telephone. Unfortunately, by no means everyone who wanted to was able to speak to Vadim Viktorovich (the line was overloaded), but the most persistent and luckiest people did manage to. We offer for your attention a transcript of the dialogue.

[First Caller] Is that Vadim Viktorovich? Olga Ivanovna Timofeyeva of Mineralnyye Vody here.

[Bakatin] Hello, Olga Ivanovna. What's on your mind?

[Timofeyeva] I'm the mother of two sons. Both are serving in the Internal Troops. My elder son is an officer, and the younger is still a cadet. My younger son and his subunit have already been to Fergana, Samarkand, Abkhazia, the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast]....

[Bakatin] Where is he now?

[Timofeyeva] At the moment he's on leave. Nevertheless, when I read the USSR president's decree of 25 July I was very worried. What I want to ask is: Surely it would be better not to send our children to "trouble spots" to carry out the kind of actions that the Army and Internal Troops have been taking on recently. To Armenia, for instance. Especially as the republic's new government is pressing for this. You know, if all of a sudden, God forbid, something were to happen...

[Bakatin] Olga Ivanovna, I see what you are getting at. I too have two sons, admittedly they are quite grown up now. I want to tell you that I have forbidden the sending of cadets to "trouble spots." Categorically.

[Timofeyeva] But they are being sent nevertheless. My son was just 17 when he was sent to Fergana. This is very hard even from the moral viewpoint.

[Bakatin] This will no longer happen. Now about the USSR president's decree. The 15 days originally allowed for its implementation passed and, on the basis of the real situation, a new decision was adopted. I met specially with the newly elected chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet to discuss all the issues. We agreed that the decree will be implemented by the republic's forces without interference by the Army and Internal Troops. For my part I am also taking other measures to ensure that unnecessary bloodshed is avoided.

But at the same time I must tell you, Olga Ivanovna, that the state has certain functions and the Internal Troops exist, and in certain circumstances we are forced to use them. We are now switching to manning the Internal Troops according to the professional principle. The first such subunit has already been created—it is made up of warrant officers who are joining us voluntarily, by contract. So we will not be sending cadets and compulsory service soldiers to resolve operational tasks.

[Timofeyeva] Thank you, you've put my mind at rest.

[Second Caller] Comrade Minister, I'm Nikolay Ivanovich Lebedev from Moscow. May I ask you a question?

[Bakatin] Please go ahead, Nikolay Ivanovich.

[Lebedev] It's about the crime situation in the country. I'd like to know your view of it.

[Bakatin] I often have to speak about this. The situation is grave, of course. But that word alone is scarcely enough to define it. Crime is a social phenomenon, and a multitude of both subjective and objective factors have to be taken into account when speaking about it. Now, given the imbalance in our overall life, starting with the economy and ending with politics, crime is objectively bound to increase....

[Lebedev] I realize that. But I have a specific question. What measures is the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] taking? Why are MVD forces used like a fire brigade—after the event? Why are we trailing after events—both the government, and your ministry in particular? All the decisions on combating crime adopted by the Supreme Soviet are a sham. What really should be done to ensure that our lives are less troubled?...

[Bakatin] Nikolay Ivanovich, would you give me a chance to reply? It is difficult for me to argue with you, and I do not want this, especially as you are right in asserting that we have worked like a fire brigade. I myself have often spoken about this. I agree we do little in the way of crime prevention. But if all these tasks are left to the militia alone, we will never beat crime.

[Lebedev] No, I'm a long way from thinking that.

[Bakatin] I will stress again: There is a whole complex of problems. Everything that happens in the country in the sphere of the economy and politics affects the state of law and order. We have closed the western border—this immediately makes itself felt. The situation has become more complicated in Armenia—the same thing happens.

Yes, crime is growing. But the coverage of this problem is out of proportion to the actual growth. There is no need to panic over this. Why? Because previously for a very long time we said nothing at all about this topic or said only: My militia will look after me. Everything was fine and dandy. But now every day we turn on "600 Seconds" and this constantly "nags" at our minds. But if you compare crime levels in the capitalist countries and here, in our country the murder rate per 100,000 of the population is one-third less than in the United States (but don't think that I am happy with that statistic). But the fuss over this is 15 times greater than in the United States.

But in principle you are absolutely right, of course. The militia's tactics are to pursue. When something has happened, we leap into action. But we still leap into action rather poorly. The reason here lies in one thing. We must strengthen the militia. We must give it the technical equipment. We must ensure that a militiaman is paid not 200 rubles [R] but enough to ensure that he is not lured away by cooperatives. Unless we want only quota workers or the first comer to join the militia, we should pay them fittingly and, second, train them properly. We often admire the way the police work in the United States and Canada. But they are paid $30,000-$40,000 per year. In Canada there are nine contenders for every place in police schools. But in our country we are 60,000 short of a full complement.

My point is that this problem is far greater than some of our leaders make out: Impose order at all costs, bang your fist on the table, and there's an end to the matter. We must change a great deal—investigation techniques, once again. In our country, as before, they are based on attesting witnesses, on records drawn up in three copies. But times have changed.

Work to strengthen the militia has begun. Last year, though the overall budget decreased, the government increased the militia budget by 14 percent. And now, in considering the 1991 budget, we are pressing for funds for the militia to be doubled.

[Third Caller] Is that Moscow? I want to speak to the minister of internal affairs.

[Bakatin] Hello, Bakatin here, go ahead.

[Third Caller] My name is Abramov. Dmitriy Adizovich Abramov. I live in Karshi in the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. I am calling about the persecution of Crimean Tatars by internal affairs organs.

[Bakatin] I know of no such cases.

[Abramov] My brother has been in custody since 7 December last year. We beg you to restore legality.

[Bakatin] Give me your precise address. I'll send someone from the MVD apparatus to see you and he will investigate everything.

[Fourth Caller] Is that 941-24-40? This is Sergey Kuznetsov from Novosibirsk. Vadim Viktorovich, recently you received proposals to run for various high party and state posts. You have refused. If it isn't a secret, could you tell me why?

[Bakatin] I will answer your question as follows. I am astonished at the very unseriousness of these proposals. I think that this is not how this is done. Candidates for the top party and Soviet posts should be well known to those who are going to elect them. They should have a whole series of meetings, set out their positions, and present their programs. But of course, the very first thing that is needed is the consent of the candidates themselves. And in all the cases involving me, both the first, the second, and the third conditions were lacking. But even if they had been met, I would still have refused.

Yes, I have always gone and worked wherever I was sent. I lived for 45 years in Siberia and I had no problems. Now I am 52. I have decided for myself that I will no longer return to party work. I will certainly remain a party member—I have no doubts on that score. I believe that we should transform the party not by walking out on it but by working within the party itself. As for the various nominations, including the nomination as candidate for the post of president, I reiterate that I regard this as ridiculous. I am convinced that today we have no alternative to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

[Fifth Caller] Hello, Comrade Minister. Major Aleksandr Alekseyevich Ryabov here. I serve in a scientific research institute in Moscow. I am calling on behalf of my colleagues. You will agree that the mafia could not exist without the support of certain persons from the upper echelon of power. This is confirmed by international experience and also, unfortunately, by our own. In our view, it is this that arouses the greatest indignation and mistrust of internal affairs organs among the population. What is the Sixth Administration doing to expose the persons in the upper echelons of power who support the mafia? Will there ever be glasnost on this question?

[Bakatin] From the viewpoint of elementary logic and the theory of crime, corruption certain can extend into the upper echelons of power, including the militia, prosecutor's office, and judiciary—it has no limits. Therefore the struggle against corruption is the number one task in any society, including our own. But it has to be said that as yet we are waging it badly. If only because our efforts here are dissipated between two agencies—the KGB and ourselves. In our country, in the USSR MVD, the fight against corruption is dealt with directly by the KGB Third Directorate rather than us. [sentence as published] I think that this is our job.

As for the Sixth Administration, it was organized only recently and has not yet found its feet. The work of its staffers is now being organized.

[Sixth Caller] Hello, I am Vladimir Danilovich Nikulin from Vologda. Can you hear me, Vadim Viktorovich? I have a program for solving the problems connected with crime. I devised it myself. For many years now I have been unable to get anyone to examine it. But I'm convinced that it is the only chance of saving our society. I implore you to receive me and hear me out. I'm in Moscow at the moment, I came specially when I read in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA that you were going to answer readers' telephone calls.

[Bakatin] Okay, I will give instructions that you are to be received this very day. Come to the MVD admittance pass office at 1500 hours. You will be met.

[Seventh Caller] Comrade Minister, you are talking to Private Taygurat Kakayev, a compulsory service soldier from the Baltic Military District. I want to raise a very important matter with you. I want to transfer to the Internal Troops. Even before I was drafted I asked about this at the military commissariat. Before entering the Army I went in for wrestling and prepared myself for service in the Internal Troops. I was set on serving in the Internal Troops, you see, but the military commissariat paid no attention to this. At the moment I am in the radiotechnical troops.... I have appealed to my immediate superiors. No one here will be able to resolve this question.

[Bakatin] I would be happy for you to serve in the Internal Troops. I will try to help you and will send a letter to the defense minister.

[Eighth Caller] Is that the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA feedback telephone? This is Reserve Colonel Anatoliy Mikhaylovich Kashurnikov, I live in the Moscow region. What I would like to know is: What measures are being taken in the fight against speculation? There are all too many lovers of easy money, and you get the impression that no effort is being made to deal with them.

[Bakatin] Anatoliy Mikhaylovich, I am convinced that if in our country there are shortages all over the place, we will never beat speculation. But this does not mean that the militia should remain idle. We must work more vigorously.

It so happened that with the growth of cooperatives the OBKhSS [Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Department] was essentially demoralized. With every passing year it unmasked fewer and fewer speculators. Now we are strengthening this service with cadres. And there are already results.

In the first seven months of this year proceedings were instituted against 187,000 speculators and persons engaging in the illegal sale of goods—44 percent more than last year. And of them 6,900 faced proceedings for speculation on a large or particularly large scale, which is almost twice as many as last year. This year the militia has confiscated from speculators all kinds of speculative goods totaling R24.215 million. That is 2.5 times more than last year. But I repeat that even if we confiscate even more, speculation will increase nevertheless. So long as there are shortages, there will always be people who will make a killing on them.

[Ninth Caller] Comrade Minister, I am Karmen Sogomolovich Askaryan, a refugee from Baku. I am now living in Zolochev in Kharkov Oblast. Please tell me, can an ordinary citizen be received by a minister?

[Bakatin] Of course.

[Askaryan] And a second question. What can I do if over the course of two years I have three times been detained without justification by militia officers?

[Bakatin] You will agree that I cannot give you a specific answer here and now on the telephone. I need to know the circumstances of these detentions. Come here or give me your address and I will give instructions for everything to be investigated.

[10th Caller] Aleksandr Feoktistovich Denisov, a reserve officer, here. I had difficulty getting through, though I only live in Moscow.

[Bakatin] Good day, Aleksandr Feoktistovich.

[Denisov] Sorry for interrupting you, Vadim Viktorovich. But it's a painful matter. My question is this. Why are we being led by the nose by these dregs and renegades of our society? There are hundreds of thousands of scroungers in our country now. Take a walk around Moscow, down Gorkiy Street and the other central boulevards—there are so many of them loafing about, yet there is no one to gather the harvest! Can honest people feed everyone? But these grubs, they are afraid neither of us nor of you, you know. And they behave very insolently. Just stop sometime and take a look at them, and you will see for yourself that they are really scum. We ought to be tougher with them.

Why can they freely rob, hijack aircraft, and rape children? When you read the ministry's communiques about Moscow, it's enough to make your hair stand on end. We are wholeheartedly on your side, but criminals should be firmly dealt with. If they have used weapons and killed or crippled someone, forget the investigation! These scum must be destroyed. I'm the same age as you and I know that there was also crime after the war. But that was a long time ago.... We must put a stop to this somehow.

[Bakatin] Aleksandr Feoktistovich, that is not really a question, you have set out your position. I understand it....

[Denisov] Or take that presidential decree about surrendering weapons. Fifteen days were allowed—we ought to have ensured that it was fulfilled.

[Bakatin] Nevertheless, let's take a realistic view of things. You will agree that this decree chiefly applies to Armenia. And the whole dilemma is that we had to send Russian lads, or Ukrainians, or Belorussians, to Armenia to disarm the guerrillas. But I don't want coffins to be shipped to Russia from Armenia and people then to say that we have formed a second Afghanistan. So when Armenia's new leadership suggested imposing order there with its own forces, we agreed to this.

That is about the second part of your question. Regarding the first, I say again that I wholeheartedly agree with you. Scum must be destroyed. But it must be destroyed in accordance with the law. Many of our impressions are derived from television, the radio, and newspapers. We have given ourselves a bit of a scare here. Because if you compare the crime level after the war, the level now is approximately the same. Ten years ago there were 21,000 homicides in the country and last year there was about the same number, but there is now far more fuss and talk.

But you are right that now our liberalism has turned out badly for the ordinary citizen and very conveniently for the criminal. Whereas (I am rounding off the figures) previously 70 out of 100 convicted criminals ended up behind bars, now only 30 out of 100 prisoners in the dock are jailed. Over the last three years the number of prisoners in our country has halved—there were 1.6 million, now there are 800,000. So the question is very important, and we are working on solving it.

There must also be great changes to the base of legislation. For instance, parasites are now outside the sphere of the law. So there is another side to any coin, and democracy will always have certain attendant features and growing pains. There is no way of avoiding this. Any democracy requires a powerful law enforcement system in order to defend the democracy itself. But as yet we have not created one.

[Denisov] Vadim Viktorovich, another point. People bring money to the savings bank. For instance, R200,000—I have often read about this. But where does the money come from? I'm sure even you don't have that kind of money even though you are a minister.

[Bakatin] There ought to be a declaration of income, there ought to be a strict system of taxes and a financial inspectorate with the right to carry out investigations.

[Denisov] Many thanks to you, we will support you in everything.

[11th Caller] Hello, this is Tatyana Viktorovna Gordenko from Rostov Oblast.

[Bakatin] I can hear you fine, Tatyana Viktorovna, hello.

[Gordenko] Hello, Comrade Minister. I am the wife of a warrant officer in the Internal Troops. My question is about our apartment. My husband has 11 years' service. The four of us live in a one-room apartment of 10 square meters. No one is promising us anything. Many people who arrived later than us have already been given housing. But we have two children, yet there is nothing. My husband, of course, does not know that I decided to call you.

[Bakatin] Don't worry, Tatyana Viktorovna, don't cry. I will give instructions for an investigation and for you to be helped, if everything is as you say. Don't be upset, don't cry, for God's sake. Give me your address.

[Gordenko] Please, you are our only hope....

[12th Caller] Good day, Comrade Bakatin. I am Boris Agayevich Miryayev, a USSR citizen. To be specific, I live in Baku and work in the Azerbaijani militia. My question for you is this. When the troops were brought into Baku in January of this year five Azerbaijani militia officers were killed. Have you looked into the circumstances of their death? What is your reaction to this?

[Bakatin] I view the death of any militia officer as a tragedy. We all feel this deeply. Last year 189 militia officers died in the line of duty at the hands of criminals. I demand of the cadres administration, of the Union republic ministers, of the political administration....

[Miryayev] I know all that. But why was nothing published about this in the press? There was no official reaction to these cases. I made enquiries. No help has been given to the families of those who died in Baku. I ask you to monitor this matter.

[Bakatin] Is the investigation into these cases over or is it still under way?

[Miryayev] The military prosecutor's office is dealing with this, but it gives us no information. I have a second question—about events on the border with Armenia. At your recommendation the president extended the deadline for surrendering illegally stored weapons. But what is the point if provocations continue daily? In this connection I ask you: What would happen if your apartment were fired on? Our people are against the extension of the decree.

[Bakatin] Boris Agayevich, you are a militia officer and you should not speak on behalf of the people. Neither I nor you have that right. The deadline for fulfillment of the USSR president's decree was extended partly at the request of the Azerbaijan minister of internal affairs also. Ask him. And I will tell him to explain everything to you.

[13th Caller] Vadim Viktorovich, here's a call from Perm. Kuznetsov is my name, Sergey Kuznetsov. I'm a worker. I want to know how you manage to combine the duties of minister and member of the Presidential Council.

[Bakatin] I would not say that the one impedes the other. The Presidential Council imposes no other duties on me except one—giving advice to the president. The point is also that the Presidential Council has still not begun working in full measure. Only five sittings of it have been held. I do not speak as a minister in the Council. And Mikhail Sergeyevich says that he does not need ministers there, but members of the Presidential Council who must have their own opinion on various questions.

But the problem lies elsewhere, and it is indeed difficult. Our whole system of top administration is very complicated.

[Kuznetsov] I have another two questions. Do you go in for sports? You look as though you do.

[Bakatin] I don't know about that nowadays.... I did indeed go in for sport and in a very big way—soccer, basketball, volleyball. I was terribly keen on hockey. When I lived in Novosibirsk I played in a class "B" team. But all that is in the past. Now I play the occasional game of tennis.

[Kuznetsov] One last question. In a Western movie I saw, important police officials and prosecutor's office personnel had their own personal bodyguards. How do matters stand in our country in this respect—are we catching up with the West in terms of crime?

[Bakatin] There are bodyguards all over the world. I have often seen this for myself when traveling abroad. Suppose an investigator is conducting a major case. Should he be protected? Of course. Just like the prosecutor, the judge... As yet we do not have this in our country. We are criminally careless. The necessary instructions have now been issued and a special decision about organizing protection for those who need protecting is being prepared.

[14th Caller] Major Yevgeniy Vladimirovich Mityayev here, from the Moscow fire protection garrison. Greetings, Comrade Lieutenant General.

[Bakatin] Hello, Yevgeniy Vladimirovich.

[Mityayev] I have a question for you from my service colleagues. We graduated from the Leningrad firefighting technical school. We took the oath there, and we have military ranks. But now our years of study are not counted in computing long-service bonuses and pensions.

[Bakatin] Have you approached anyone over this question?

[Mityayev] Many times. But they say that there is some resolution dating almost from 1936 decreeing that studies in a school are not counted.

[Bakatin] Yevgeniy Vladimirovich, the only thing I can say to you now is that I will investigate this matter. If that is indeed the case, I will try to help, I will approach the relevant organs to abolish this resolution that discriminates against firemen.

[15th Caller] Comrade Minister, this is Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Voznyuk from Grigoriopol who has already tried once to get through to you.

[Bakatin] Yes, we were cut off. Let's try again. As I understand it, criminal proceedings involving some high-ranking relatives of the rayon leadership have been instituted there, and the chief of your rayon internal affairs department is being pressured. I will give instructions for this matter to be investigated. Thank you for your help. [Bakatin ends]

Even a lengthy newspaper feature cannot contain all the problems raised by readers in the course of this dialogue, all the questions. Even after the allotted time the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA feedback telephone kept on ringing for a long while and telegrams containing questions came in.

When this feature had been prepared for publication we received a letter from USSR People's Deputy M. Mamedov. "KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's feedback telephone dialogues are not only popular but important," he writes. "I would have very much liked to take part in the phone-in with USSR Internal Affairs Minister Comrade V.V. Bakatin. Unfortunately, all my attempts to get through to him on 941-24-40 were unsuccessful. So I ask you through KRASNAYA ZVEZDA to convey the following questions and his answers to them...."

The questions are indeed important, they are connected with the USSR president's decree of 25 July. But we were unable to put them to Vadim Viktorovich because he left Moscow the day after the phone-in. We promise to convey them to the minister later. But there is no need to despair, esteemed readers. First, the internal affairs minister has decided to make it the rule to regularly talk with citizens on the telephone from his office. And, second, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's direct line lives on. The editorial office plans many interesting meetings.

One last point. We have been told that V.V. Bakatin has issued appropriate instructions to USSR MVD services on all questions raised in the phone-in.

RSFSR's Isakov on Drafting of Union Treaty

PM2208133090 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Aug 90 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with V.B. Isakov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Republic Council, by correspondent A. Gamov; place and date not given, published under the rubric "Discussion Platform 'Choice'": "What Sort of Union Treaty Do We Need?"—first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] As already reported, the roundtable meetings between working groups from the USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Council of Ministers and the authorized representatives of the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics, in which proposals for the concept of a new Union treaty are being discussed, are continuing in Moscow. Representatives of the Russian parliament also voiced at one of these meetings their position on the elaboration of new Union relations and the relationship between Union and republic legislation. What are its distinguishing features? This was the subject of our correspondent's discussion with V.B. Isakov, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Republic Council.

[Isakov] The leader of our delegation defined in some detail our understanding of the problems of Russia and our Union treaty concept at a consultation meeting. True, it must be said that this was still a working version. Because it will probably be possible to talk about a "Russian position" only when our parliament has elaborated it. For our part, we put forward approaches to this document that are still in the development stage.

In particular we spoke about the demarcation of powers in the sphere of the economy, defense, and security. For example, the following question was touched on: In the event of the disintegration of the Union, who will the nuclear forces belong to? Will all the republics receive their share of the nuclear arsenal?

Now concerning questions about the organization of the treaty process. Let us say straight out that in our recent history we have had more than a few instances of the formal, bureaucratic approach to the subject. Remember how many treaties on friendship and cooperation were concluded! Where are they now? They have fallen into dust because they were mere show. In no circumstances must the same approach be allowed to prevail with regard to the Union treaty. In elaborating this document, the task lies in rethinking the fundamentals of our Union anew, in returning mentally to its sources, and in ascertaining how we are to resolve together the severe problems that arise nowadays in the sphere of the economy and politics and in the human rights sphere. Judge for yourself, what will we be talking about, and why, if these questions remain on the sidelines?

It goes without saying that the Union treaty must not be a ruling clique agreement between leaders. It must be a treaty of peoples, with not just a juridical, but also a high moral and ethical authority.

[Gamov] Did the consultation meeting which took place meet all these requirements?

[Isakov] I would not rate it as high as that. I voiced my own opinion during the discussion. Above all, in my view, we have still not adequately thought out the very methodology of the treaty process. Thus, the role of the current Union center is still not entirely clear in this issue. If you think about it, the preparation of a new Union treaty was prompted by crisis in the Union. The Union has exhausted itself in the form in which it now exists. Things have almost reached the point of a vote of no confidence in the government.... On this basis, we are entitled to consider the place the center should occupy in the new treaty process.

I believe that the role allotted to it should be an honorable, but, all the same, not a dominating one. The republics must be given room to discuss the issues across the entire spectrum; their initiatives must not be fettered, nor should rigid timetables be imposed or attempts to influence the formation of their positions be made. Therefore I repeat the idea I expressed at the meeting: Bilateral consultations are not the best form for a discussion of this kind. It is like a director talking to an obstinate work team; it is difficult to make them see reason all together, but you can attempt to "talk them round" one by one. I think that if the center seeks to control the treaty process and tries to lock everything into itself, this will lead to a new center starting to be formed.

At the current initial stage of the formation of treaty relations it is impermissible that any sort of Russian version should begin to dominate. Even as things are, Russia is viewed by many as the state which has monopolized the Union. And it would be wrong to begin now basing a Union treaty on some kind of Russian foundation, supposedly better than others, which would supposedly have to be regarded as the base. On the whole I would heed the advice of our experts in this, and they say that for the time being the Russian initiative should be held in check. Let us listen to what the other republics say and study their proposals. And at the same time let us put forward our viewpoint without foisting it on them: Think, reflect, and consider the options....

[Gamov] But, of course, in that case there will be a certain delay, and we will not get a new Union treaty in the very near future.

[Isakov] Well, so what? For the healthy development of the treaty process the basis, the social background, on which it develops is the important thing. Let us say straight out that at the moment we do not have a very suitable background. There is the crisis state of the economy; the start of its transition to a completely new system, one that we are not used to—market relations; there is a certain growth in social and ethnic tension. But the treaty should formalize an already established reality. Of course, we must not put an artificial brake on the treaty process. These issues must be discussed—they are becoming critical. But it would be premature at the present time to sign any documents.

New bilateral links are already beginning to develop now between republics, regions, and cities. For example, Russia's economic relations with Lithuania. Recently the association of Siberian cities was revived. It is possible to cite other examples as well. Obviously a new fabric is forming in our economic life. So far this fabric is still very fragile, but when contacts grow closer, they will provide a good basis for strengthening links between the republics and a real foundation for the new treaty.

Perhaps then there will not be the sharp contradictions between the concepts of "mine" and "ours" which often arise at the present time. You often hear: my diamonds, my coal, my metal. But, after all, they are all commodities which can be exchanged for other goods. If everyone starts to dictate a monopoly price for "his" goods, no one is likely to gain by it. More likely the contrary—everyone will lose. I believe that the critical moment in the understanding of this problem will come this year when the country's and the republic's new budgets are drawn up—we are already seeing some of the trends here, they have emerged quite clearly. In the course of two or three years, say, we will overcome this "running in" phase. I think that then the time will come when it will be possible to formalize a Union treaty.

[Gamov] We have heard more than once that on this question the dominant role is played not only by the attitudes of the "upper echelons," but also by those of the masses. What do you think about this?

[Isakov] Recently I was talking with a Ukrainian representative; there, a whole group of deputies is openly declaring: We will not allow the conclusion of a Union treaty. What does this show? That socially, psychologically, and morally, the desire to reach agreement has not yet reached maturity, has not yet become the will of the people.

In this connection, I recall the first meeting in the Kremlin, in June of this year, on questions of preparing the Union treaty. It began coldly, disaffectedly. But it ended in a quite different frame of mind: "The Union must be preserved. After all, what are we without each other?" This is the path that we must travel along—sincerely, without straining, without falsity—to conclude a Union treaty.

Our mistake, it seems to me, lies in the fact that we are always severing political and legislative processes from economic, social, and psychological processes. On the one hand, we seem to have accelerated them, and on the other, we pay no attention to them. If we could have assessed more soberly what is happening in our country, then surely things would have not gotten as far as this explosion of national strife? Surely we would not have put off the conclusion of a new Union treaty until the Union was beginning to fall apart? This should have been thought about a lot sooner. Then, perhaps, even the Baltic republics would not have raised the question of secession. And now attempts to accelerate the treaty process while the Union's authority is strong will lead only to an exacerbation of the crisis. It is necessary to understand nonetheless that political processes have their own objective logic, and, as the Vietnamese say, even nine women cannot give birth to a child in one month.

[Gamov] You said that the Union treaty must be a treaty not of leaders of republics and states, but of their peoples. What do you have in mind?

[Isakov] As a lawyer, I see that our country, our state is suffering from two illnesses which are at the first sight incompatible. On the one hand, it is suffering from juridical nihilism, scorn for the law, which up to now has been ignored with the aid of ministerial instructions and sometimes simply a devil-may-care attitude. On the other hand, it is suffering from juridical fetishism, the naive belief that the law can solve everything. With the aid of the law it is apparently possible to "realize" any reality in life. Both extremes, I suggest, have a common root—a low juridical culture. Say we adopted a law, as some people are demanding, to penalize bureaucracy. Surely bureaucracy would not be eradicated as a result? Surely it cannot be abolished by veto? The trouble is that people have the same attitude to the treaty: Let us adopt a document, and solve the problem that way. Not at all! A treaty is not just a legal reality; above all it is a political reality which is based on certain social, economic, and demographic ties, and which in some way summarizes and generalizes real life, and brings it into an organizational, interstate framework.

Second, a treaty has force not only as a signed piece of paper, but also as a reality which people recognize, and which has entered the consciousness of the people. And in this respect, I believe that the conclusion of the treaty must pass through several stages. First, there is the initiation stage, in which approaches to the treaty, its framework, and forms are discussed. The second stage is its public discussion. We must find ways of dialogue which do not divide us, but bring us closer together. Not only state wisdom is needed here, not just sober economic calculations, but great human wisdom. For this reason it would be a good idea to take the discussion of the Union treaty into the pages of newspapers and magazines and to discussion clubs.

[Gamov] How do you see the Union treaty? Is it possible to speak about its initial, fundamental provisions at this stage?

[Isakov] I consider the key, the fundamental provision of the treaty to be the following: In all conditions and all circumstances, human rights must be observed—that minimum of human rights which is enshrined in our constitutions and international pacts ratified by our country. It is impossible to base the happiness and prosperity of one man on the unhappiness and misfortune of another. This truth is just, both for individuals and for whole peoples. It is vitally important to create a system for protecting rights that can act independently of where a man lives—in the city or in a rural locality, in his own republic, or the neighboring one.

Second, we must safeguard the rights of peoples. There are no large or small, great or less great peoples—all peoples are the same in this sense. Any people, any nation has the right to free development, and to the free choice of the forms of its existence. In other words, if they want to live in the Union, a federation, or a confederation—then let them. If not, no one has the right to prevent them from establishing their life in a different way. The only important thing is for this to be a genuinely free choice, formalized by a democratic procedure, such as a referendum.

Now as regards the legal form of the Union treaty. It is already obvious that each republic will join the Union on to its own terms. And perhaps not even at the same time as other republics. Therefore, it would be more correct to portray the current Union treaty as a treaty package, as a system of bilateral and multilateral agreements between the republics. Recently Kazakhstan and the republics of Central Asia concluded an agreement on economic, scientific and technical, and cultural cooperation. Probably this process will be developed in other regions. I do not rule out the possibility that the far eastern krays and oblasts will conclude a similar agreement, especially seeing that our parliament has adopted a decision to open a free economic zone there. In short, I picture the Union treaty as a treaty system which will perhaps approach a unified document only as it develops further.

[Gamov] Vladimir Borisovich, as a citizen of Russia the question cannot but arise personally for me: How will the Union treaty process be harnessed with our intra-Russia treaty process?

[Isakov] It was said clearly at the conference that the process of concluding a Union treaty cannot overtake the conclusion of a federation treaty. In other words, first we need to understand how we see the Russian Federation.

Here two approaches have been outlined. One consists in the Russian Federation being seen as a union of autonomous and territorial units—krays and oblasts. The aim of this kind of approach is to put everyone in the same conditions and get rid of potential conflicts. But the unfortunate thing about this is that we lose Russia. It once again disintegrates into a set of "apanage principalities," as it was in the Middle Ages.

Therefore I am a supporter of the other approach. The Russian Federation, in my view, must be a union of peoples with Russia—the state of the Russian people, having a historically established internal organization, the division into krays and oblasts. All national formations in this union are guaranteed opportunities for original national and cultural development. But at the same time, economic rights—the administration of property and taxes, the right to foreign economic relations and other rights—must be roughly the same throughout the Federation. In other words, krays and oblasts must be just as free in economic relations as the national republics. Of course, at the same time the specific nature of certain regions which require special state aid (for instance, the Nonchernozem zone and the Far North) must be taken into consideration.

I would like to remind you of history. In the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia (November 1917), the following principles of nationalities policy were defined: the equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia; the right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination, up to and including secession and the formation of an autonomous state; the repeal of all national and national-religious privileges and restrictions; and the free development of national minorities and ethnographic groups living in the territory of Russia. I think that these principles have withstood the test of time. And we will be guided by them.

As yet we have only preliminary theses and sketches for a Federation treaty. It is seen as having two parts. One is a permanent part—"Principles of the Federation," in which the fundamentals of the Union are enshrined. The second part is variable—let us call it provisionally "the Federal Register." It should gather together the bilateral treaties of national republics and other national formations with the RSFSR, the bilateral and multilateral agreements of the federation components [subyekty federatsii], as well as treaties on the restoration, transformation, or creation of national or regional formations. I think that national rayons, cities, settlements, and villages should be reinstated. Practice will probably suggest completely new forms of national and regional association.

As already reported, the other day, in accordance with the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's resolution, an open competition was declared for the best version of a draft RSFSR Federation treaty. I take this opportunity to invite all citizens of Russia to take part in it.

[Gamov] I would like to focus attention on another important provision heard at the conference: Moving as we are toward a new treaty, toward a new Union, we must already act and live according to new principles today. What do you think about this?

[Isakov] The relations between the center and Lithuania are by no means an example of harmonious relations between the Union and a republic. And the evolution of these relations shows that the original hardline position was a mistake and should be rejected. The center's guarded approach to sovereign Russia's first steps is also discernible, and, to be frank, does not inspire enthusiasm. An example of this is the president's decree on banks, which essentially blocks Russia's initiative on the demarcation of ownership in this sphere. This significantly dampens faith in the new Union: Once again there is a divergence between word and deed.

To arrive at the new Union tomorrow it is necessary to root it firmly today in the realities of the new economic relations and new political and civil initiatives. True, the dictate of the central departments is still making itself felt. A concrete example can be cited: Institutes that work on the problems of Russia's agro-industry belong to the Union, and attempts to transfer them to the Russian Academy of Agricultural Sciences have so far run into opposition. You see, the Union agricultural academy does not want to hand over these institutes. With approaches like this, the road to the Union treaty will obviously be a long and painfully difficult one.

The Union legislative program is the cause of serious suspicion in the republics. After all, it is a program for the adoption of large-scale direct-effect acts. That is, acts operating directly over the heads of the Union republics. This could have been understood in the first stage of parliament's activity, when the laws on property, leases, and taxes were adopted. But to adopt now a Union economic code—and this idea is being actively discussed—would be in my opinion a mistake.

To distribute rights, duties, and responsibility sensibly is now a vitally important task. And the conclusion of a Union treaty is only the top floor of this pyramid. It must be understood that there will be several local self-government floors underneath this. If the lower floors of this building are not built correctly, it will never stand firmly. Therefore at the present time, interpreting how the new Union treaty will look, we must think about the overall architecture of the building and about all its complex connecting doors. The pediment must not be put in place until all the lower floors are more or less fully designated. Otherwise the pediment will collapse....

State Arbitration Board Holds Conference

PM2208150090 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Russian 11 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the USSR State Arbitration Board"]

[Text] A conference of personnel from state arbitration boards at republic, kray, and oblast level has been held in the USSR State Arbitration Board, to discuss questions concerning collaboration and cooperation between state arbitration bodies at the present stage.

The conference participants noted that, in the conditions of implementing the principles of state independence and republic sovereignty and transferring to a market economy, it is becoming particularly important to further improve the work of state arbitration bodies connected with protecting the rights and legal interests of enterprises, irrespective of their location. State arbitration bodies will help to develop and stabilize interrepublic economic ties and to strengthen contractual discipline in economic relations. When resolving disputes, state arbitration bodies work on the basis of the principle of equal rights for all the parties involved and are guided by the laws that are binding upon them: interrepublic treaties and agreements, and contracts concluded by the enterprises themselves.

The state arbitration boards have agreed to build their relations in a spirit of cooperation; to systematically exchange information on laws and other republic-level normative acts needed to resolve disputes; to regularly exchange information on the practical application of legislation in the examination of disputes; and to take concerted measures to shape arbitration practice.

It was noted at the conference that the republics' state arbitration boards and the USSR State Arbitration Board are working to broaden the powers of state arbitration bodies in the examination of disputes in order to ensure equal protection for the rights of all participants in economic life—legal entities and other agents involved in economic relations—in cases provided by for legislation. It was considered advisable for all state arbitration bodies to speed up the drafting of the relevant proposals on this question to be submitted to bodies of state power.

The state arbitration boards agreed to submit proposals to the relevant bodies of state power on incorporating certain provisions in interrepublic treaties and agreements on economic cooperation. These provisions will cover the procedure for organizing economic ties and the mechanisms for settling differences that could arise in the implementation of these treaties and agreements.

The conference also discussed some topical questions concerning the formation of arbitration practice during the transition to a market economy and drafted some coordinated recommendations to be submitted to state arbitration bodies.

Commission's Work on Crimean Tatars 'Delayed'

LD2208200990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The drafting of the draft state program for the return of Crimean Tatars to Crimea Oblast is in danger of being disrupted. This was stated today in Moscow at a meeting of the state commission on the problems of the Crimean Tatar people. It was noted at the meeting that the work on settling the problem is being delayed by a number of committees, ministries, and departments at Union level whose participation in necessary in order to solve the problem. Because of this, primary measures cannot be taken to the full extent.

Poll Examines Attitudes on Working Abroad

PM2108110190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 7

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Public Opinion: Survey and Sociologists' Commentary": "Attitude of the USSR's Population on Working Abroad"]

[Text] The All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion has conducted a study on the subject "The Attitude of the USSR's Population on Working Abroad." Vladimir Kosmarskiy, scientist and sociologist, provided information about the results of the survey at the request of INTERFAX.

The proportion of people wanting to work abroad is quite great—eight percent of those polled would like to do this.

It was most frequently young people who expressed this desire: 15 percent of those polled aged 29 and under, 10 percent aged 30-39, and only three percent aged 40 and over would like to work abroad.

Those wishing to go abroad include the following: 27 percent with complete or incomplete higher education; 34 percent with secondary specialized or vocational education; 23 percent with secondary general education; and 16 percent with incomplete secondary education.

The overwhelming majority of them (95 percent) are city people, moreover, one in six inhabitants (17 percent) of the major cities (Moscow, Leningrad, and the Union republics' capitals) expressed a desire to do this, while the figure was one in 12 among the inhabitants of medium and small cities (eight percent), and only one in 50 (two percent) among rural inhabitants.

Two in five (40 percent) of those wishing to work abroad are employed in production sectors (industry, construction, transport), and the same number (39 percent) in science, culture, education, and public health.

However, by and large sociocultural personnel are twice as likely to want to do this as are workers in industry or other nonproduction sectors—trade, public catering, and so on—(14 and 17 percent of those polled in these groups respectively).

More than half of those who expressed a desire to work abroad are members of the humanitarian and technical intelligentsia (39 percent) or are skilled workers (19 percent). The proportion of employees is also extremely large (26 percent). It is representatives of the latter group who more often want to go abroad—one in seven (14 percent) employees indicated this. One in 10 of those polled are members of the intelligentsia (10 percent), while only one in 12 are skilled workers (five [as published] percent).

It must be noted that the desire to go abroad is nonetheless abstract among a considerable proportion of the population. At any rate only one in 10 (11 percent) of those who expressed this desire intend to leave their current job to do this in the near future; most (40 percent) are only contemplating this step.

As for the reasons behind people's desire to work abroad, they can be judged from data cited in the following table: Answers to the question "What Attracts You to Working Abroad?" (in percentages for the number of people polled in each group) [The article is accompanied by a cartoon indicating that 62 percent are attracted by good wages; 13 percent by the chance of occupying a fitting place in society; 56 percent by the opportunity to realize their knowledge and abilities; seven percent by the fact that there is scope to display initiative abroad; and 11 percent because they want to work among like-minded people at last]. In conclusion it must be said that, mindful of this survey's data, one can say with considerable certainty that 1.6-2 million people are ready to leave immediately to work abroad, while there is a contingent of another 4.8-6 million contemplating this possibility.

Note: Respondents could choose several answers, hence totals may add up to more than 100 percent.

Newspapers Register Under New Press Law 14 Aug

PM2208101590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by G. Alimov: "IZVESTIYA Registered No. 1"]

[Text] The presentation ceremony for the first certificates of registration for newspapers and journals took place 14 August in Moscow in the USSR State Committee for the Press building on Strastnyy Avenue. The newspaper IZVESTIYA was registered No. 1.

The country is taking another step toward a civilized world, toward a nonmilitary, rule-of-law society. All previous and new publications must now register under the Press Law, which entered into force 1 August. Obtaining freedom, every editorial office is a full-fledged corporate entity with its own charter. For the first time in many years the possibility of a radical change in the country's information market is opening up.

Dmitriy Mamleyev, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Press, said that there have been 124 requests for registration to date. More than 100 of them are new publications. They include 65 journals, 33 newspapers, two journal supplements, seven newspaper supplements, and 17 mixed publications. Interestingly, 20 applications have been received from private individuals who intend to open 16 journals and three newspapers, while one almanac—PRESS-ORIGINAL, the work of Yuriy Knyazev from Moscow Oblast's Shchelkovskiy Rayon—has already been registered No. 4 at the USSR State Committee for the Press. The almanac's founder himself said that it will publish investigative articles on humanitarian sciences.

As yet only two applications have been received from new political organs wanting their own press organ. According to Dmitriy Mamleyev, no one has been refused registration. But problems are developing with existing publications with a stable financial position and a wide readership. Several candidate founders at once are laying claim to them.

"We are currently studying this problem. In our view, it could be resolved by means of a compromise," Aleksandr Gorkovlyuk, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Press, believes. "But it is quite possible that some conflicts may only be settled in court."

The Moscow Soviet's newspaper KURANTY [GAZETTE], which will circulate throughout the country, and the newspaper POISK [QUEST] founded by the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR State Committee for Public Education, and the Education, Higher Schools, and Scientific Institutions Workers Union Central Committee were among the first to receive a certificate of registration, along with IZVESTIYA and the PRESS-ORIGINAL almanac. The journal PROFI-SPORT-XXI VEK, a publication belonging to the 21st Century Association, was registered No. 5.

It is not registration but material provisioning that is now the most important problem for these publications. The situation with regard to the new periodicals, which do not expect state help, is more or less clear. Most of the new publications' founders already know where they will procure paper and other resources. Existing newspapers and journals are in a more complex situation. In all probability, they do not have the best of times ahead. The introduction of market relations for which many have fought so hard, paradoxical as it may seem, will evidently hit at them first of all.

Higher Postal, Subscription Rates Viewed

90US1275A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 33, 18-24 Aug 90 p 6

[Interview with Ye. Manyakin, USSR deputy minister of communications, by I. Kabak; place and date not given: "Three Questions on the Telephone"]

[Text] *Readers are upset about the price increases for periodicals. What has caused this? To what extent are they justified? From 1991 prices for paper, typographic work, and deliveries of newspapers and journals will be rising significantly.*

Since most of the prime costs of publications are accounted for by the Ministry of Communications, it is to that ministry that we turned.

[Kabak] Yevgeniy Alekseyevich, what is the reason for the rising prices of publications for subscribers? Why is the Ministry of Communications carrying 50.6 percent of the nominal cost of prices in force in 1990?

[Manyakin] Throughout the civilized world the publisher himself is concerned with the distribution of his product, with delivering it to the mailman's sack. It is only here, because of the long years of diktat over the public organizations, that the obligations of the publisher have been shifted onto the post office. Since 1980 we have been waging an unequal struggle against discrimination against the post office departments, and we have achieved nothing apart from shouting. Prices for forwarding and delivery have remained stable since 1939. And each year we sustain losses because of the higher prices for gasoline and for shipments by air and railroad. Now, when glasnost is in full bloom, we have been inundated with an avalanche of publications. The limit on subscriptions has been doubled and tripled. The post office is being smothered. And the paradox is that the more the mail carriers work the less they earn. People are hypnotized by the figure of 5 billion rubles [R], which is what political commentators are citing as the ministry's annual profit. Unfortunately, the ministry itself sees none of this. Moreover, bank interest alone amounted to R3 billion. We are unable to improve working conditions for one category at the expense of another that is producing these assets. (Does this mean that it can use the subscribers for this?—I. Kabak)

The figure of 50.6 percent of the present nominal cost is not something taken out of thin air, it is the result of an analysis conducted recently by independent experts, and also by representatives of the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the Ministry of Finance.

[Kabak] Who is gaining as a result of the increased rates, since it is clear that the public is losing?

[Manyakin] First of all the most low-paid category—the mail carrier. I emphasize officially that the apparatus will get nothing as a result of the increases. Moreover, our main task is to exercise the strictest monitoring to prevent assets from being dissipated or frozen in the middle levels.

As far as the interests of the public are concerned, the publishers were also unable to raise the prices for their products. For example, the newspaper TRUD is taken by millions of trade unionists. Or PRAVDA. If the party were interested in having the newspaper read by as many people as possible, subsidies would be needed.

For in fact we have been subsidizing the public publishers for decades. As far as publications for children and women are concerned, the state could have assumed that work itself. Ultimately, publications for children and women and for veterans could be tax-exempt, as has been done for the enterprises in the Children's Foundation.

And then there would be no need to think about how, after prices have been raised, the people in communications will begin to recoup the money: almost half of the assets would go in taxes, and God forbid that each mail carrier should receive an increase of R30 or R40.

[Kabak] Do they in the Ministry of Communications understand that this decision is a footboard for glasnost?

[Manyakin] And will it be a footboard if tomorrow the mail carriers stop working altogether? During the last five years the ministry has not received a single subsidy. Now, in connection with the adoption of the Law on the Press, the number of publications has increased considerably, and hence the load is growing. We can now longer play the role of benefactors. Just take one example. Our military mail, as in other countries, is free for the addressee and sender. But not for us. Hundreds of people are employed in carrying that mail. And they must be paid. As I have already said, transport costs a pretty penny. And we do not receive the slightest compensation from the Ministry of Defense. Or the former Main Administration for the Safeguarding of Military and State Secrets in the Press. We select foreign journals for them to read, sort them, and send them on—all for free. There are dozens of such examples.

And in these situations we are being forced to find solutions for ourselves. But as a rule our protective actions result in an adverse reaction. And we find ourselves under a constant hail of criticism. For example, the sensational story of the general "air mailing" of letters. The ministry issued two kinds of envelopes—with a four-kopeck stamp (60 percent) and a six-kopeck stamp (airmail), 40 percent. And they were never sorted very well and as a rule normal letters were sent by air. We introduced a standard five-kopeck stamp. As a result of this reform we received R80 million. This was not even enough to cover inflation.

And in conclusion a personal note. Vladimir Tsvetov, a political observer on Central Television, drew a parallel between the work of our communications people and the Japanese, saying that the selfless Japanese leaders take extreme steps in extreme circumstances—they commit hara kiri.

If we resort to this I fear that it will become massive: So many problems have built up over the years that it is impossible to resolve them all at one stroke.

From the Editor

It is impossible not to feel for the mailman, but likewise, money can again be used from the budget "for miscellaneous expenses." Where is the guarantee that in a year or two the Ministry of Communications will not need new transfusions? Where is the guarantee that the work of the communications people will significantly improve? Obviously, so long as a monopoly exists the problems engendered by monopoly will exist.

And what remains to be done with the journalists who have seized on this? There is only one solution—raise prices. Even ARGUMENTY I FAKTY with its phenomenal circulation will become bankrupt if it settles account with the budget and the publishers and the departments dictating conditions to it. An enforced increase in the price of the publication will reduce circulation and reduce glasnost.

Is this ultimate situation not reminiscent of the recent fuss about subscription limits?

Health Service Personnel Rally, Voice Demands

PM2208111190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Report by N. Prokofyeva from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Rallies have become commonplace. But this kind of rally is being held in our country for the first time. It has been declared Union-wide. Medical workers have gathered in many of the country's cities today in order to voice their demands. Our correspondent reports from Luzhniki:

[Prokofyeva] Today it is too late to speak of a critical situation in our health care. We have gone beyond that point. This view was expressed in many speeches. It was not just the beggarly wages of doctors and other medical staff and the poor social provision for them which brought these people to Luzhniki. They are troubled by their inability to provide proper treatment for the sick.

We all complain about the quality of medical services, about the waiting lines in health centers and hospitals, and the shortages of drugs. Doctors are demanding that the causes of these phenomena be eliminated. They want the state monopoly on medical services to be abolished, diverse forms of ownership to coexist in health care, and health insurance to be introduced. They are also demanding that no new programs be adopted or experiments carried out in the sphere of health care without the consent of the USSR Doctors Association. These are their main demands.

What will you do if they are not met?

[A.A. Sviridov, president of the All-Union Doctors Association] Judging by appearances, we may even resort to a strike, although it is very difficult to prepare for it in our conditions bearing in mind that our strike must not involve denial of medical assistance, not to mention emergency medical assistance. But there are also other forms which we could use quite successfully.

[Prokofyeva] Could you elaborate?

[Sviridov] In medicine there is a great deal of unproductive work which has no bearing on patients' treatment. Suspending this work would have no adverse affect on patients. There is a great deal of paperwork, for instance, as everyone knows. We could refuse to fill out all this unnecessary documentation. Tougher steps could include refusing to declare patients fit for work after illness. We could continue to issue sick notes but refuse to declare patients fit again. People would then understand that we are striking on their behalf. We could also close down subdivisions that do not provide medical treatment.

Medicine Shortages Reported

904D0211A Moscow SOYUZ in Russian No 32, Aug 90 p 14

[Roundup of reports by N. Baklanov, B. Berdyyev, G. Velman, S. Gamova, Sh. Zaynutdinov, S. Krayukhin, V. Sarkisyan, and A. Shagun: "Don't Get Sick, There Are No Medicines"]

[Text]

Tashkent

Turap-aka Tulaganov has worked for almost 40 years as a pharmacist. For the last five years he has been in charge of the No. 10 pharmacy on Besh-Agach Square in Tashkent. And Turak-apa has noted a remarkable thing, namely, that whereas usually in July (the season of vacations and holidays) the pharmacy does not meet its monthly plan, now, for the first time it is even exceeding its targets.

Nevertheless, what shortages are there? First and foremost, disinfectants. At the city "Farmatsiya" Association they assured me that deliveries will pick up in the fourth quarter: the orders have been received and some are already being met. An applications service has been set up: (prescription) medicines in short supply can be obtained in a few days. The disabled and war veterans have been entered in a special register.

Minsk

Because of the Chernobyl trouble, says Sergey Shamruk, chief of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Ministry of Health Main Administration for Pharmaceutical Supplies, the demand for vitamins and radiation protection agents (such as activated charcoal, which protects the body against the effects of radiation) has risen sharply, but they are in catastrophically short supply.

The reason for the existing situation is failure to deliver about 40 percent of the volume agreed for these preparations through the USSR Ministry of Health "Soyuzfarmatsiya." Not even the requirements of Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts are being met, where they have been most affected by radiation. Under these conditions, they are trying within the republic to reconstruct and expand the capacities of their own pharmaceutical enterprises and develop new enterprises with the participation of foreign companies. But unfortunately this is a mere drop in the ocean.

Meanwhile, all-Union suppliers (and these have been increased by more than 200 outside the republic) are experiencing chronic interruptions in supplies for those same multivitamins or other ordinary medicines. There are major shortages in the pharmacies of even the simplest analgesic and antiinflammatory drugs, like metapyrin. But as the shortages of ordinary drugs occur this is also affecting stocks of some of the pharmacies' expensive and essential drugs (at the Minsk No. 108 pharmacy alone, drugs of this kind worth 131,000 rubles [R] are unsold, and many of them have been imported).

The switch to market relations has prompted the pharmaceuticals plants to move to large output of expensive drugs and reduced their willingness to produce cheap vitamins, mustard plasters, and dressings.

Yerevan

Following the catastrophic earthquake in Armenia, and not without justification, Armenia was being compared to a "huge warehouse" of medicines. They were saying that stocks would last for several years. They still cherish this illusion.

However, in both the republic "Armfarmatsiya" Association and the central pharmacy in Yerevan this was the picture that was painted: there is no metapyrin, ascophen, aspirin, antiallergics, and other simple drugs, and amidopyrine has been withdrawn from production and no effective substitutes are yet available; this is by no means a full list of the shortages. Since February of this year, when the shortage of drugs was particularly felt, drugs from the stock earmarked for earthquake victims have been circulated in the pharmacy network with the permission of the republic government.

Even above-norm stocks have now been built up on the base of the association. Paradoxes of the domestic economy? Not quite. The fact is that over the past two years Armenia has been periodically cut off from the outside world. It is precisely because of the possibility of blockade that it has been necessary to stockpile drugs here. According to figures from the experts, since the beginning of summer large batches of drugs to treat diabetes, hypertension, and heart disease have been sent to the republic. However, these valuable shipments have still not reached the borders of Armenia. The numbers of heart attacks have increased and often nothing can be done to help. The entire annual stock of many other drugs will reach here only during the fourth quarter. In short, the painfully familiar picture of surpluses of some drugs while others are not available.

But of course, the overall shortages of drugs in the country is linked to the closure of a number of chemical production facilities, in particular the giant "Nairit" in Yerevan. So next week the newly elected parliament will again turn to an examination of this question. According to the most optimistic assessments, "Nairit" will be reopened, but without the harmful shops.

Kiev

For many months now the situation in Kiev with respect to everyday drugs has been one of crisis. It is possible to buy metapyrin or similar effective analgesics only with great luck. For example, I visited pharmacies many times but was only twice able to obtain metapyrin in ampules. I am well acquainted with the situation with respect to this drug because alas! I am sensitive to "magnetic storms" and other unfavorable changes in the weather.

Unfortunately, one also never sees vitamins in the pharmacies in Kiev. And supplies in the trade network are obviously inadequate, while the inhabitants of many regions in the Ukraine have special need of them because they have been subjected to the effects of increased radiation.

Leningrad

At the No. 7 pharmacy on the Nevskiy Prospekt an old woman is moaning: "I have no strength, my legs are bad. I have been round half the town looking for a painkiller, but there are none. And they are not even promising that there will be." The same picture can be observed at the retail sales departments in the pharmacies of Petrogradskiy, Vasiliyevskiy Ostrov, and the right bank of the Neva.

Leningrad has never known such cruel shortages of medicines or the shelves of the pharmacies so completely bare. Imported drugs with wonderful names like "panziform" and "korinfar"—ordinary tincture of iodine or sal ammoniac—are nowhere to be bought. I myself witnessed a man on Zagorodskiy Prospekt who was unable to stop a nosebleed: they had no hydrogen peroxide in the nearby pharmacy.

Tallinn

I set out for the city center, to the No. 1 pharmacy. For a cough they have suggested tablets, ledum, and syrup. For a cold in the head, naphthyzin, galazolin, bormenthol. For headache, ascophen or tsitramon. I know from experience that they are weak agents, and I asked for something stronger. "I have nothing stronger to offer you," answers the pharmacist, Khelgi Maasalu. This is the most "painful" point in the work: there have been no analgesics in the Tallinn No. 1 pharmacy for more than two months. The information service confirms that there are shortages of these effective drugs at 18 other pharmacies in the republic's capital. The same picture is seen in the city and rural pharmacies, the chief, Salme Pedak, tells me.

The interruptions in supplies of analgesics started a year ago. But just with analgesics? In the pharmacies they can offer the heart specialists validol, but not always. There are no antibacterial ointments, alcohol, Vietnamese balsam, borax, laxatives, or, forgive me, anti-diarrheal agents. There is no simple potassium permanganate. There are shortages of suppositories, elastic bandages....

Ashkhabad

The situation in Ashkhabad, and in the republic in general, is probably little different from the situation at the all-Union level. The reason is the lack of regularity in or total absence of appropriate deliveries. Judge for yourselves. The republic needs a minimum of 200,000 packages of baby powder but stocks stand at 70,000. But no miracle is in sight: As usual, deliveries are being interrupted and held up, and God knows what else. As a result, only 35 percent of that same baby powder has been delivered. In the republic overall the shortfall in drug deliveries to Turkmenia is R1 million, and in a best case scenario orders are being met only 70 percent. But this is the overall picture; for particular drugs the situation is deplorable. Thus, only 13 percent of the demand for glucose is being met, while the figure for ATP and cocarboxylase is 30 percent.

Moscow

We telephoned more than 50 pharmacies in the capital. The result of this "blitz poll" can hardly be called comforting. It is catastrophic. Mustard plasters were available at only five pharmacies, and even then they warned us that they would run out in no more than half an hour. Only two pharmacies had metapyrin in powder form. There was no valocordin anywhere, but two pharmacies suggested that we use korvalol as a substitute.

Deputy chief of the supply and marketing department at the Moscow "Farmatsiya" Production Association, I.V. Shilov, explained that Moscow is being supplied with 78.7 percent of the drugs it needs. The most serious difficulties are found with the cardiovascular, psychotropic, and analgesic groups. There are few inexpensive antibiotics, although expensive ones are always available (but not in the hospitals). Incidentally, a large number of analgesics are imported, but alas! patients do not know their names. And what are the reasons for this situation? There is no warehousing space available, there are shortages of vehicles to carry the drugs, and the association does not have hard currency to conclude urgent contracts with foreign companies. These are "local" reasons. But the main reason is the general drug "hunger" in the country. And the prospects still do not look good.

Kishinev

At the republic Ministry of Health and the republic "Farmatsiya" branch they are, unfortunately, saying that only 70 percent of republic orders for drugs are being satisfied by the center, and for some drugs the figure is even lower.

For example, here in the republic we have the "Farmako" plant. A new shop was constructed there quite recently to produce one drug, the so-called aminotsen. Physicians are aware that there are virtually no analogues for that drug; it possesses anti-inflammatory and reparative actions. Those who have been treated with it say that the medicine resolves tumors, improves hair growth, and gets rid of eczema. The drug is manufactured from the placenta, the "caul" in which a baby is born. The shop was built but opportunities for bringing it into operation are slim. First, for the almost 10 years that the drug has been available in the republic no proper collection of placentas from birthing centers has been organized. And those that have been are being sent abroad and used... in the perfumery industry.

TASS Notes Death of Boris Shcherbina

LD2308082390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1745 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Excerpts] Moscow, 23 Aug (TASS)—Boris Shcherbina, former deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, holder of a personal pension at Union level, and hero of socalist labor, died today aged 71 following a serious illness. [passage omitted]

The Soviet state, says the obituary published here today and signed by the state, government, and party leaders, highly appraised Boris Shcherbina's services, having awarded him four Orders of Lenin, Order of October Revolution, two red labor banner orders, and medals.

Economic

Deputy Minister on Aviation Industry Problems

PM2208144990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 90 First Edition p 2

[Report by B. Chebakov: "Difficult To Spread Wings"]

[Text] Tomorrow is USSR Air Fleet Day. How is the largest airline in the world—Aeroflot—approaching this holiday?

According to A. Goryashko, USSR first deputy minister of Civil Aviation, every year 25 million people who wish to use an airplane cannot do so. No improvements are visible in the standard of passenger service, either.

But what has brought this on so suddenly? After all, it is not Aeroflot alone that is guilty of all the sins: There is insufficient fuel, spare parts, and engines for the planes. The fleet of aircraft is outmoded and needs to be replaced.

"Where are the promised Il-96-300's, the Tu-204's and Il-144's?" airmen exclaim. But in the Ministry of the Aviation Industry they spread their hands in resignation: At best these aircraft will be on the runways in the third quarter of 1991. Here too there are "objective causes"—the lack of new-generation electronics. The piloting and navigating equipment for existing aircraft is unreliable. Much is being written about conversion. Here is apparently a way out of the situation: setting up production of civil aeroplanes and spare parts for them in military aviation plants. But again the answer is no. After conversion these enterprises begin to make everything from washing machines to macaroni factories, only not engines or wings for civil aircraft.

In-flight service is of a low quality because of the urge for 100 percent loads, the desire to take everyone aboard. The concerns of the passengers are more simple—they would just like to get to the ticket office window and get a ticket. But to get to the longed-for window is not at all easy. PRAVDA has several times raised the question of the Moscow Soviet allotting additional premises for Aeroflot ticket offices on Dzerzhinskiy Square and in other places in the city. Alas, the red tape drags on.

There are many problems on the international air routes. Although the geography of the routes widens every year, and indeed the service is a little better than inside the country, there is a wealth of work to be done. Again there is a shortage of modern technology and hard currency. However, the correct path has been found in this direction—the setting up of joint enterprises with foreign airlines and firms, and the hiring of modern A-310 airbuses.

"A rise in the prices of air tickets is possible," A. Goryashko said. "This is connected with the rising costs of the material resources used by Aeroflot..."

And so, happy holiday, airmen! The passengers are expecting a cause for celebration from you, too.

Aviation Official Explains Fare Increases

PM2308085390 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 90 p 1

[Report by D. Babich: "Higher and Higher?"]

[Text] A press conference was held at the USSR Civil Aviation Ministry yesterday, at which the first deputy minister, Aleksey Goryashko, announced forthcoming increases in air fares. We asked the USSR Civil Aviation Ministry Main Economic Administration to explain.

"The Civil Aviation Ministry does not actually want to increase the cost of air fares," Igor Desyatnichenko, deputy chief of the administration, told us. "The government program for transferring to a market economy establishes a 50 percent increase in air fare rates. We are simply implementing this program, under which, incidentally, the cost of aircraft fuel is going to be trebled.

"The Civil Aviation Ministry can only submit proposals to the Supreme Soviet to amend the finer points of the government decisions. We propose that fares for long-haul flights (more than 5,000 kilometers) be increased by 25-30 percent but that fares for short journeys (particularly those that could be made by using overland transport) be increased by more than 50 percent.

"It goes without saying that our country does need a market economy. But why are they trying to make a strong association in people's minds between a market economy and price rises? And when is the quality of passenger services going to be improved?"

Moves Toward Foreign Exchange Market Viewed

PM2208102590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by M. Berger: "How Much Is Hard Currency These Days?"]

[Text] As has already been reported, the country's government recently adopted a resolution on measures to set up a foreign exchange market.

Under this resolution all enterprises and organizations constituting legal persons in Soviet law will be entitled as of 1 January next year to buy and sell foreign exchange in return for Soviet rubles at market rates. There are plans to organize foreign exchange markets in Moscow, the republics, and individual regions.

The first attempt to move toward the creation of a foreign exchange market was made at the end of last year, when the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity [Vneshekonombank] held its first foreign currency auction in early November. At the auction 8.5 million foreign currency rubles "changed hands" at an average rate of 1:15. But that was the average. Certain sellers asked up to R40 per foreign currency ruble, while certain buyers were naively expecting to obtain foreign currency rubles on a one-for-one basis—such proposals really were made.

Under the rules governing such auctions there were no actual trades. The Vneshekonombank simply accepted written instructions to buy and sell currency and matched up clients. Of course, this "warehouse" principle of working was not likely to produce the expected results. Just what results were expected from the first and five subsequent auctions that have already been held? We had hoped to get a handle on the possible market rate of the ruble. But even the most committed believers in our auction system would, I think, balk at pegging the rate at 1:35 (as at the last auction). And the auction rate of the internal nonforeign-currency ruble, the weekly BIZNES I BANKI writes, has fallen by 23 percent in a single month. If this had been caused by price changes, the weekly concludes, this depreciation would indicate inflation running at almost 280 percent annually. Whatever our lack of confidence in the State Committee for Statistics' assessment of inflation at seven to eight percent, it is hard to swallow such a figure.

I think that this abnormal rate (consequently useless as a guideline) has come about because of the abnormal conditions on which the auctions were based. Only state enterprises were allowed to participate—and not even all state enterprises, just those agreeable to the minimum participation conditions of 10,000 foreign currency rubles for buyers and 50,000 foreign currency rubles for sellers. During the interval the number of auction participants varied between 100 and 200.

The other restriction was the size of the actual commodity—foreign exchange—intended for trades. In practice the basis of the turnover was state foreign exchange specially allocated for these purposes. According to unofficial sources, this amounted to around R50 million a year. This figure is more than symbolic—it could not form the basis of a foreign-exchange market under any circumstances. The size of sales at previous auctions confirm this proposal. The increase was also affected by the fact that the only auction participants were state enterprises, which do not value the "low-grade" rubles in their accounts.

But the main and—if one can put it this way—ideal plan behind holding the auctions was to elaborate new market principles for the distribution of foreign exchange, to get away from a centralized foreign exchange plan, or to reduce it as much as possible, allowing enterprises themselves to earn and spend foreign exchange funds. Nothing of the sort happened in practice and the auctions unfortunately degenerated before they had essentially gotten going.

The switch announced by the government from auctions to a foreign exchange market creates a fundamentally new situation—if, of course, the switch is implemented to any extent. The decision to create such a market does not include the misguided restrictions governing the auctions—above all, participation in trades. Incidentally, the resolution envisages that even before the market starts operating—that is, this year—cooperatives and joint ventures will gradually obtain access to auctions. Admittedly, it is not clear just what this will mean in practice, what the size and speed of this "gradual move" will be, and whether it will create a situation conducive to crime—whereby some people are gradually allowed access while others are not. But it is important that a principled decision has been made recognizing that enterprises which operate on the basis of different types of ownership have equal rights.

Only tangible people—that is, ordinary citizens—will still be barred from engaging in currency trades. But there is one curious detail in this area. On the basis of another recent USSR Council of Ministers resolution—on measures to set up small enterprises—virtually anyone can set up a small enterprise and register it as a legal person. This means they can also gain access to the foreign exchange market.

It is to be expected that the exchange rate will initially leap to the top black-market rate—R50-60 to the dollar. But specialists believe that it should then stabilize, probably at R15-17 to the dollar. Although, of course, a different outcome is possible. But in order to prevent the foreign exchange market from sharing the fate of the auctions we need to set up a centralized state foreign exchange fund adequate for the normal conduct of day-to-day trading.

Rival Economic Think Tanks Contrasted

PM2208114990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Aug 90 Morning Edition pp 1,2

[M. Berger article: "'Sosny' and Sosenki. Which Program Will the Country Use To Master the Market?"—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] These two etymologically related names [reference to "Sosny" and "Sosenki" in the headline] mean nothing to the overwhelming majority of people. Those who know what is behind them are in no hurry to display their knowledge. That was at least the case until recently. But everything is changing, the times included. Traditionally the team (specialists, scientists, officials) elaborating draft government documents—programs, resolutions, and reports—work at the "Sosny" recreation home near Moscow, which belongs to the USSR Council of Ministers.

The working group preparing a coordinated concept for the transition to a market economy as the basis of the economic part of the Union treaty has been at work since 6 August in another recreation home near Moscow, the Arkhangelskoye near the settlement of Sosenki, which belongs to the Russian Council of Ministers. This group was, as is well known, set up following an accord between M. Gorbachev, B. Yeltsin, N. Ryzhkov, and I. Silayev. One can say with confidence that the future of the reform is today being decided at the desks of these two "intellectual bases."

Over the last two weeks I have spoken on three occasions about the working group set up under the auspices of the USSR president and the chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] (Nos. 215, 216, and 220). On two occasions the IZVESTIYA headlines featured the word "accord," since it was this problem that was the crucial one on the country's path toward the market. The accord secured by the country's two most prestigious leaders toward the beginning of August regarding the preparation of a coordinated concept with the participation of the Union republics has given hope that by September, when the parliaments begin their work, we will have obtained not 15 options for reform but a common program recognized by every republic. Otherwise the Union government's program—even if it is ratified by the Supreme Soviet—may suffer the fate of an orphan although its parents are still alive, so to speak, and our economy runs the risk of becoming like a choir where everyone is singing but each person is singing their own song, to their own tune.

One can only suspect how difficult it was to decide to set up the group. If we consider the general state of our disordered economy and the political events of recent months and weeks, above all the "parade of sovereignties" which quite definitely demonstrated the republics' political and economic aspirations, it will be clear how frail an opportunity emerged in early August.

When I put the word "accord" in the headlines and repeated it in my commentaries, I was aware not only of the difficulty of attaining it but also of the fact that success or failure would in many respects depend on the ability of the Union government and its team at "Sosny" to give way on a number of fundamental positions and grasp the new radical philosophy of reform proposed by the Russian Federation for other republics and the whole Union and open to creative participation by others.

Why did so much depend and still depend, I think, on the tractability and receptiveness of the Union team? Because this crew's philosophy of half-measures, half-decisions, and constant compromise with the administrative system failed to advance economic reform to any significant degree and failed to produce appreciable results in the sphere of day-to-day economic management, not to mention the present state of the economy, of course. This philosophy does not enjoy extensive support in society and has not been adopted by the Supreme Soviet in the form of a government program. By giving up its depreciating stock of prestige and with it the chance of influencing decisions, the Union team has, as it were, become a new intellectual enterprise with union-wide prestige and an open credit line of trust in society. The Sosenki team are not to blame for the unsuccessful economic policy, and the mistaken decisions or programs for the simple reason that this team did not exist until recently.

The first sign that there was no agreement emerged in the middle of last week. People at "Sosny" who had not previously wished to advertise themselves suddenly began to press journalists to acquaint the public with the progress made on the government program. This invitation provided splendid confirmation that competition is a powerful universal factor. Something that was hard to hope for before—striking openness, along with an invitation to the hearth of government decisions and ideas—happened after the mass media vied with one another in talking about the presidential group—as L. Abalkin recently described it in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. But it was because the unexpected openness was the result of emergent rivalry that it failed to provoke great joy.

People at "Sosny" did not hide their irritation over the public sympathies for the "presidential" group and hopes voiced in connection with this. We were reproached for (once again journalists are to blame) driving a wedge between those at "Sosny" and Sosenki, holding them up as messiahs, not helping to consolidate those people working on reform.

Why correspondingly not sympathize with those people who are elaborating and proposing concrete radical, truly market-oriented transformations? One can take a critical attitude to the "500 Days" program (DELOVOY MIR published in full the concept for the accelerated transfer of the USSR's economy to market principles 31 July this year with the original headline "400 Days"), especially since a detailed study of this program gives grounds for comment or disagreement with some of its provisions. But this is still no reason to stick to your former positions. Much of the "500 days" program is attributable to the fact that the draft was prepared this February in connection with the idea of introducing presidential rule in the country.

Its authors say in the introduction that they were proceeding on the premise that the high concentration of power and the USSR president's prestige make it possible to effect a dynamic comprehensive transition to the market within a short period, with the least social losses. This opportunity was there this spring, the drafters went on to write. However, events have taken a different turn. It has now become obvious that comprehensiveness and radicalness are the guarantees that the reform will be a success. The time for gradual transformations was lost and partial reform has proved to be ineffective from the experience of Hungary, Yugoslavia, Poland, and China.

The schematic nature of the draft that occupied one and one-half sheets of newsprint gave the "Sosny" team an excuse to say that the scheduled measures for the transition to the market are reminiscent of collectivization although the draft, indisputably, contains "a considerable number of valuable and interesting ideas." In my view, the draft's main importance resides in the fact that the authors—they stressed this particularly—regard it as just a tentative outline on which to base a truly operational model, which is what the "presidential" group is now effectively working on.

But it is not only this tractability that distinguishes those at Sosenki from those at "Sosny." At the meeting in "Sosny" we were repeatedly told that there is no new government program for the transition to the market and that work of that kind is not under way. The third or fourth programs being submitted to the country's parliament are all fabrications by journalists. We are preparing a precise concept for the transition to market relations which is the consistent development of the government's proposed concept, starting with the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

Thus, we were told that it is not a question of seeking new ways to switch to the market but of developing the ideas in recent but hopelessly outdated documents which provide directives for the preparation of the next five-year plan and a host of other instructions based on the idea of the stability of the unitarian system of our society and a number of other past gains. People at "Sosny" looking down indulgently and somewhat imperiously on Sosenki, arguing that the people over there are running terribly short of time, have nothing serious to their name, at present at least, and they cannot do without "Sosny" and the potential at the fingertips of the team there.

From the actual structure of the work and the allocation of responsibility for individual sections of the government program one can conclude that is extremely unlikely that fundamental changes will be made to it. The program's financial section safeguards the person whose candidacy to the post of USSR Gosbank [State Bank] chairman was rejected quite recently by people's deputies, a person who has managed finances at the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Commission] for many years and who is therefore responsible for their current confusion. The deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices, who has spent a considerable period of time in this department in this post, is tackling questions of price formation. The elaboration of the concept of a wholesale market in means of production is, of course, in the hands of the USSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] deputy chairman, who has held this post and worked in this field for several years now.

It is on the whole a long-standing tradition of ours to entrust transformations in various spheres to those people who reduced these spheres to the end of their tether or who took an active part in so doing. A surefire plan as regards guaranteeing failure.

As for the people at Sosenki, new people have gathered there at the Arkhangelskoye recreation home, and this alone is bound to evoke sympathies, however people at "Sosny" may regard this. But those members of the new team who previously tried to get things moving at "Sosny" when working there, did not deserve the recriminations since, having failed to achieve anything, they swapped their place of work, as I now understand it, on the strength of their convictions.

At Arkhangelskoye sections of the program were not allocated to ministerial chiefs. The sections are elaborated by academics, scientific personnel who do not for the most part hold significant posts and are on average very young and not very well known. The only minister included in the group—the newly appointed RSFSR finance minister, B. Fedorov, who was recruited primarily as a specialist and academic—entered his section into the computer himself. Here is another curious detail characterizing different work styles and different principles. The premier's assistants both at "Sosny" and Sosenki work constantly with the groups. In the first case we are talking about the Union premier, in the second the Russian. N. Ryzhkov's assistant at "Sosny" effectively heads a group of experts, passing judgment on various theses before the document goes any higher. In Arkhangelskoye the head of I. Silayev's secretariat simply helps the group to work, providing it with everything it needs, including transport, emergency "vertical and horizontal" communications, a guard on secret documents, and many other things in which he is indispensable. Both men are, incidentally, technological people. As for the texts themselves, S. Shatalin and N. Petrakov have the last word here.

In short, there are a considerable number of discrepancies preventing these two groups from coming together as yet. But the main thing is that people at Arkhangelskoye are striving to create a truly new concept for the transition to the market which could be used both by a union of republics, and by a confederation, and by an individual republic in particular. People here are trying to create a model for economic relations that is acceptable to any republic that chooses the market path of development, irrespective of the degree of sovereignty it proclaims.

A great deal can be said about the concrete decisions that are currently being studied at Arkhangelskoye to enable the readers to assess how radical and acceptable they are. But this is the subject for a separate discussion, which will, I hope, take place. I would like to say something else today. Owing to the emergent lack of partnership, let us say this, the concept for the transition to the market as an all-Union program may vanish between "Sosny" and Sosenki. What does this involve? The Arkhangelskoye program will be elaborated and submitted to the Russian Supreme Soviet.

One cannot guarantee that it will be adopted. But an hour-long meeting took place Saturday between representatives of the "presidential" group and representatives of an independent workers' movement from various regions of the country. A discussion took place and understanding emerged. The position that this influential force holds with regard to the Union government is well known. Admittedly, we were assured at "Sosny" that the Union government's popularity has risen sharply over the last six weeks. We are just not quite clear on how this state of confidence has been achieved. Just as the following is also unclear: If the Russian parliament ratifies a program that differs considerably from that at "Sosny," to whom will the latter be submitted?

Many people will be sincerely glad if the development of events enables us to avoid two different programs for the center and Russia separately.

Tobacco Shortages Provoke Protests in Leningrad

PM2208141090 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Report by S. Dukhavin from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Tobacco again. The tobacco shortages continue despite the assurances of the city authorities in Moscow, Leningrad, and other cities that the situation will improve. An ordinary packet of cigarettes from under the counter fetches two to three rubles [R], no less. It is true that imported cigarettes are freely available in stores at what is described as "commercial" prices—between R15 and 25. Smokers want to know who set these prices, and who is responsible for tobacco factories being closed down virtually simultaneously for repairs? Meanwhile the Leningrad Oblast KGB Administration, and I quote, "is organizing an investigation into instances of provocative actions to create artificial demand and to destabilize the situation as a result of the absence of tobacco at state trade outlets."

[Dukhavin] As a rule, we have tried not to speak about the tobacco supply problems on television, regarding them as trivial. We usually focus our attention on ecological and food problems, and so on. But this is what happens when problems concerning tobacco and cigarettes are neglected. For the second time during the past week Leningraders, outraged by the absence of tobacco in the stores, have blocked the Nevskiy Prospect, bringing traffic to a halt. The last time it happened was Saturday.

As you can see, passions are running high. Inevitably, you ask yourself: Where have the tobacco products disappeared to? After all, disruptions in the supply of cigarettes started in Leningrad about a month ago. And after analyzing the situation, someone should have investigated who is responsible for this. This was not done. And here is the logical outcome of yet another situation engendered by shortages. And what is going to disappear from the stores tomorrow? It would be a good thing if those responsible for distribution and trade knew right now.

Agricultural

Agricultural Developments for 18-20 Aug Reported

LD2208013590

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 18-20 August, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

18 August

A good harvest of more than 33 quintals/hectare on average has been grown in Belorussia, but the shortage of gas, spare parts, and equipment is hampering the harvesting. Almost 2 million tonnes of grain cannot be processed efficiently due to the shortage and failings of drying equipment. (0700)

Farms of Sumy Oblast are about to complete the gathering of the harvest. To date, they have treshed out 1.6 million tons of grain. In the course of the last few years, this is a record. (Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 1915 GMT 18 Aug 90)

19 August

Grain has been threshed on more than half of the sown area in Saratov Oblast. The harvest is taking place in the situation of continious rain. Though in the past few days townspeople came to help and additional vehicles have been sent, the pace of harvesting is unsatisfactory. A little over 1 million tonnes of grain have been delivered toward the state purchases. (0700)

Bryansk and Orel Oblasts have fully met orders for sales of grain to the state. More than 500,000 tons of wheat, rye, and barley have arrived at reception points from Orel Oblast. In Bryansk, grain sales have been exceeded by 15,000 tons, mainly thanks to sub-contracting teams. (1100)

20 August

No significant developments reported.

Kustanay Farm Seeks Harvest Aid From Cities

PM2108160190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Report by F. Dzhakushev from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Now let us take a look at the state of readiness for the harvest on Kostrikovskiy sovkhoz [state farm] and other farms in Kustanay Oblast.

[Dzhakushev] A hundred of these beautiful "Don-1300" combines will be used here for the first time this fall. And 200 more of these harvesters are getting ready for the upcoming harvest in other rayons. The bumper crop of winter grain will be a sort of test for them. The machine operators too will have to get used to them. Much work lies ahead. Almost 8 million tonnes of grain is ripening on the oblast's fields.

[N.T. Knyazev, first secretary of the Kustanay Oblast Party Committee and USSR people's deputy] We are conducting a great organizational campaign among the urban population. Machine operators from industrial enterprises have responded actively to our appeals. That is the first point, and second we are planning, with the assistance of the State Automobile Inspectorate, to make maximum use of our own transport facilities, in addition to tractor-drawn trailers. And third, we have decided to give everyone who takes part in the harvest a tonne of grain.

[Dzhakushev] An active part, you mean?

[Knyazev] Yes, an active part. We will give them in addition to their basic wages a tonne of grain. And if someone does not want the grain, we are prepared to pay them between R400 and 500 instead.

[Dzhakushev] This is an extreme measure, of course, a measure which has fallen into disuse on the virgin lands, but there are serious reasons for it.

[Knyazev] Our traditional helpers, our brothers, you might say, from the Ukraine were supposed to help us out with 3,000 machine operators this year. But they have set us unacceptable conditions. They wanted 10 percent of the total threshed grain free of charge. As if we were harvesting all the grain only for ourselves. We are harvesting it for the whole country.

[Dzhakushev] And so the locals will have to work for the whole country, for themselves, and for the guys who will not arrive from the Ukraine this year. The extra tonne of feed grain will come in handy on their personal plots.

The grain will not lie around on threshing floors either. On the Chindatskiy sovkhoz we were shown these overhead galleries, as they call them here. They were built by means of the direct labor method. Now they can store 6,000 tonnes of grain here and ship it out to elevators when they are ready. This way quite a few trucks will be released for work with combines. And next year the selfsame direct labor method will be used to build some 20 houses. New people will come to live in the countryside....

[V.I. Gordik, sovkhoz chief agronomist] Then we will be able to manage without outside help. We will not ask anyone for help.

Commentary Urges Prompt Farming Privatization

LD2208110190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 22 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We watch the harvest daily with anxiety and hope.

The chairman of the country's peasant union and the president of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences have already spoken on our program on the subject of how to save the harvest. Everyone has his own opinion, but more and more economists, specialists, and commentators suggest that to preserve the harvest it must be given to the peasants. Here is the opinion of my colleague, agricultural affairs commentator Valeriy Golubev:

[Golubev] The harvest has peaked. The crop is unprecedented everywhere, but anxiety mounts over the fate of the grain.

Emergency measures, army squads, student teams, and rising procurement prices are all far from reassuring, prompting sad thoughts that very soon we will have to tighten our belts.

Remember that more than 50 years of mandatory agricultural duty for townspeople still did not protect us from crop losses. Remember that the rise in procurement prices for grain proclaimed by the historic March plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in 1965 did not spare the country the need for more purchases of it from abroad, which almost equalled domestic procurement.

Today, when there is a real opportunity to escape the many years of grain slavery at all levels of the management of the agrocomplex, from farms to the USSR Council of Ministers state commission on procurements and food, one hears entreaties about limited transportation, fuel, machinery, and spare parts, with the usual enumeration of the guilty enterprises and organizations not fulfilling their sacred obligations to the rural toilers. We have these things every year, yet they have not brought any increase in resources and won't bring any today, either. For example, the government's promise, met with applause by party congress delegates, to send 7 million tonnes of petroleum products to rural areas urgently simply failed to materialize.

Nevertheless, a 300 million-tonne harvest, with which the famed state granaries are bursting at the seams, provides a unique opportunity to change the rural state of affairs radically without too much trouble. We need only decide to leave the grain to the peasants—all of it, to the last husk—and they will try to dispose of their goods carefully. This is prompted both by the situation and by common sense.

The privatization of collective and state farms should be implemented immediately, without waiting for another government outline on transition to the market. This would be a real step toward free private farming. A free individual emerges from a free collective. The chance is also unique by virtue of the fact that, by preserving the great harvest, the country will enter market conditions without having empty shelves.

If we continue the battle for the harvest in the spirit of the former labor triumphs, then, as many years of statistics for these battles show, one-third of it will turn to dust, namely 100 million tonnes of grain by this year's measure. Preserving this grain will maintain accord in the country.

Import Schedules, Mismanagement Hurt Harvest

PM2208133690 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[Article by Vasiliy Parfenov under the rubric "What Is Being Talked About": "Why... Are We Getting Overseas Wheat Delivered During our Harvest Period... Why... Have Railroad Workers Not Transported Last Year's Grain?"]

[Text] The bumper harvest of 1990, the like of which, it is said, has not been seen before in our country's history, caught unawares not so much the peasants as government departments.

The buyers from the foreign trade managerial structures made fools of themselves last year. They failed to agree with overseas grain sellers the precise times for delivering grain to our ports. And this has resulted in a grave tragedy this year. At the very time of harvesting, when mountains of home-grown grain are piling up on the open threshing floors in the south of our country, foreign ships carrying last year's corn and feed grain have simultaneously arrived at Soviet ports. There is no possibility at all of unloading and transporting this cargo at the height of the harvest season: The grain trains are needed to transport our own crop.

How did the purchasers of foreign grain "forget" when drawing up the documents to specify WINTER delivery schedules? After all, that is the sole reason why ships transporting last year's grain have been pitching for weeks on the roadsteads, waiting to be unloaded. The foreign captains do quite well out of this waiting: We are obliged to pay them $12,000-15,000 for every 24 hours of enforced inactivity.

And there are several dozen such ships pitching in the waves and at moorings close by Soviet ports. As of 6 August there were five ships, whose holds contained half a million tonnes of grain, close by the port of Odessa alone; while three ships were at the port of Novorossiysk, waiting for more than 100,000 tonnes of cereals to be unloaded. Ships have arrived at Berdyansk, Mariupol, Poti, Batumi, Nakhodka, Vladivostok....

The transport departments are holding heated discussions among themselves and dashing off letters, but meanwhile it is our treasury—that is to say, you and I—which pays for this excessive enforced inactivity.

We paid shipping company owners, according to various figures, from $600 million to $1 billion just for delivering 30 million tonnes of foreign grain last year. And how many more resources are disappearing to pay for still-laden ships to lie idle in excess of the norm?

Concerned at the large losses, USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet workers unflaggingly write anxious letters to the USSR Council of Ministers Commission on Food and Purchases, to the USSR People's Control Committee, to the CPSU Central Committee....

N.P. Tsakh, deputy minister of the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet, talks about this with alarm. The department issued due warning, but was simply unable to get drawn up a clear program for shipment during the November-June period, when the harvesting of the new crop has not yet begun. Perhaps it pays some traders and buyers for foreign grain to arrive at our ports precisely at peak harvesting time?!

Now certain of our planners and economic managers are constantly citing in the press and on televison likely figures for our current grain losses, which come to many tens of millions of tonnes. Will they really make us accept this again?

Our country is large, and harvesting in the different zones, fortunately, does not start at the same time. And this helps us in many respects. But the freight trains take 50, at best 30 days, to go from the west to the east of the country and back. This aggravates the shortage of freightcars, which are so essential for shipping grain in the European part of the country. In addition to which, around 4,000 grain cars remain unemptied daily, turning into warehouses on wheels.

And there is yet another failure: The pace and rhythm of the railroads has been disrupted this year because of the political actions of members of informal associations on the Transcaucasus Main Railroad and strikes by miners in the Donbass, the Kuzbass.... Compared with last year, the average daily load carried by rolling stock has fallen by 200,000 tonnes.

Moreover, because of a shortsighted policy in the purchasing and delivery of grain from overseas, railroad workers have borne the weight of, as we can see, "two harvests"—the home-grown and the foreign one—and the two streams of grain have merged. But if we are to be completely frank, quite a bit of blame for these "two harvests" also attaches to the railroad workers. Because of the railroad workers' poor organization and laxness by the government more than 3 million tonnes of grain remained in port depots throughout the winter. This carried-over residue was simply shunted from place to place from month to month until the very start of harvesting. As of 5 August even more than 700,000 tonnes of imported grain remained in the ports.

No ship, motor vehicle, or rolling stock can move without fuel. But in the month of July alone peasants received 175,000 tonnes of gasoline and 616,000 tonnes of diesel fuel less than required. Our country has powerful departments responsible for producing oil, refining it, selling it abroad, allocating fuel to republics, and delivering it to consumers. For all these departments (not to mention economic headquarters, the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee]) the abundant harvest was, it seems, also a surprise, one which impedes the customary measured pace of work, as it were. Why precisely have we reduced petroleum production this year and cut back on refining gasolines and oils while generously sending unrefined petroleum and fuel oil abroad? Is this really a progressive export structure?

Science is also rightly being reproached. Where are our scientists with their economic forecasts? Our potential overseas "sponsors" are keeping a close watch on how we harvest this year's crop. An August issue of NEWSWEEK reports that "although the peasants have grown a record crop, it could rot as the result of a lack of equipment, storage depots, fuel, and manpower." So the broad hint dropped to American farmers is: Get ready to sell your grain to the USSR.

If our peasants need trucks to transport grain, the city can and must supply them. If only to gather in the whole crop and deliver it without loss to the silos. And finally abandon purchasing grain from the West. This is not just a socioeconomic question, it is a major political question.

Scientific

Activities Aboard 'Mir' Complex Reported

LD2108220590 Moscow TASS in English 1813 GMT 21 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow August 21 TASS—The crew of the seventh mission on board "Mir" orbital complex, Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov, should carry more than two tonnes of cargoes to unload the automatic cargo ship "Progress M-4" that docked to the station on August 17.

Weightlessness facilitates this task. Due to it the crew can perform unloading operations at odd moments, while concentrating on the programme of geophysical, astrophysical and technical experiments and research.

Specialists regard weightlessness as a unique laboratory. Experiments for the production of unique semiconductor materials are now made in space on the technological module "Kristall" on board the station. The production of such materials is impossible on earth. Specialists believe that this is the right road to industrial technology in space.

Weightlessness makes it possible to create in orbit large structures, modules and platforms, some sorts of "interplanetary terminals" from which ships can be launched to other planets, for instance to Mars. An ecological complex is to be created on "Mir" orbital station next year. It will help resolve the global task of the survival of humanity. The complex will serve as an international ecological monitoring. It will consist of two modules, "Spektr" and "Priroda."

Measures developed by medics enable the cosmonauts to withstand extreme conditions well. Pilot-Cosmonaut of the USSR Valeriy Polyakov, deputy director of the Institute of Medico-Biological Problems, said that commander of the crew Gennadiy Manakov who is on his first space flight feels well, as if he was born to weightlessness.

Space Sector Needs To Move Toward Market

907Q0144A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Candidate of Legal Sciences V. Postyshev: "It Is Dangerous To Leave the Ground. Is Cosmonautics Ready for Market Relations?"]

[Text] Yet another stage in space work has just been successfully completed, but.... The problems associated with the space sector have by no means been lessened. Citing an interview with Minister O.N. Shishkin, one newspaper informs us that the space research program adopted in 1989 through the year 2005 depends on whether or not it is funded. Well of course, it will not be funded to the extent requested. Where will the cuts be made?! Already a number of space projects are underfunded by 10, 20, or even 30 percent. Space-related subjects in laboratories and institutes are being reduced. Work has been halted on a number of promising satellite systems with practical applications. Production lines and shops are standing idle.

Essentially a curtailment of the scientific production base for Soviet space research has started. A major role in this is being played by our unprepared conversion, which in terms of its destructive consequences is much worse than what happened with the ill-fated campaign against alcohol. The economic aspect of conversion has not been considered. Normally it is a question not of dismantling existing equipment but primarily of technology conversion. I have before me a copy of the journal SPIN-OFF [journal name published in English]—an "untwisting" in literal translation—published by the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). It provides in-depth and—the main thing—regular information about the use of technological developments in the aerospace complex in the economy, transport, information, medicine, and construction, and in conducting emergency rescue operations and for other purposes. And this "untwisting" begins not with the finished project but right from its early stages. The result is a significant reduction in allocations—self-financing as we express it in our language. The mechanism for operational technological conversion in the United States is based on the real economic interests of the state and of the company providing the corresponding development, and the developer himself.

This mechanism is the very thing that insures the payback of money that has apparently just been thrown away. Thus, a purely political American moon program brought in eight dollars for every one dollar spent; the economically misguided space shuttle program has produced three dollars for every one dollar spent. There is no doubt that SDI is producing considerable spin-offs. But it is doubtful that our "Energiya-Buran" system will, as they promise, break even by the year 2000. Two years ago it was announced that 600 technologies advanced during development of the "Buran" would be transferred to the national economy. True, the figure was later reduced by a factor of four, but that is not the point. The fact is that it is not being done. There is a great deal of noise but who can explain plainly where this technology has gone and where the goods produced on the basis of it can be found? And so it is said that in principle our lumbering economy is unable to accept anything new. So why should it suddenly do an about face toward the achievements of space research, to a system that is far superior to the overall technological level of the country? This question has been asked: "How many stylish suits and shoes can be bought, how many of the latest domestic appliances, the currency deficit aside, from the sale of just one of the 'automatic chemical devices' from the Voronezh design bureau?" And indeed, how many could? An average of 10 times more if some attempt were made to organize the production of consumer goods instead of goods for space. There are calculations showing that one conversion scenario through the international space market is much more effective than futile attempts to reorient the space complex. This scenario, however, places special demands on the organization of foreign economic work, which unfortunately has also not managed to avoid serious and largely justified criticism. The trammels of the notorious state monopoly on foreign trade, which remain strong even to this day, isolate the producer from the world flow of goods and technologies and leading scientific thought and economic experience. Enterprises taking advantage of the new economic legislation are trying to get round the parasitic central and administrative foreign trade organizations and on their own responsibility and at their own risk to establish direct links with foreign companies and set up numerous commercial sections and services. The other side of the coin is that the management apparatus is swelling without any improvement in competence; there is a real boom in trips abroad but currency incomes are not increasing. The term "Russian business" has been coined—a synonym for busy negotiation but no visible results.

It is also necessary to consider people. Inflation is forcing people to look for a better living. But you cannot get rich here. A rocket used as a water tower for a horticultural association is original. But we will hardly provide incentives for the thousands-strong collectives of experts with top skills with such schemes. It is inconceivable that we can use those kinds of prospects to lure a young man to sit behind a desk for 25 years while he learns the essential knowledge and skills. We cannot bring in "temporary workers" for space research. It requires total commitment. It is not happenstance that conversations about the future of space exploration start with recollections of Korolev, Glushko, and Yangel. But where are today's schools of space researchers, and where will they be? The threat of a brain-drain hangs over us. During the first year of its reform, more or less prosperous Hungary lost 12 percent of its creative intelligentsia. In the USSR the designer is doomed to the exhausting practice of parking on people's doorsteps in order to realize his own ideas, and he receives incomparably less than his American counterpart. The life of a designer of space systems is doubly burdened because his proposals are classified as secret and he is deprived of even the minimum protection provided for inventors and authors under the law. It is not difficult to guess what will happen when the now almost ready law on travel abroad is passed. It is precisely the physicists, designers, engineers, and programmers who are worth most in the West.

It might be suggested that, as a result of future changes in the national-state structure of the USSR, not all republics will agree to participate in the space programs. Will Russia alone be able to make a go of it? Many other questions that require urgent measures are arising.

And this is what we are failing to understand: In the era of the scientific and technical revolution, he who wins out is not the one with the largest pasture but the one who possesses the greatest scientific and technical potential and knows how to use it. Surely the takeoff before our very eyes of tiny Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Singapore must add something to the hoary old ideas from the last century sitting there somewhere at the backs of our minds. Of course it is possible to abandon the latest satellite and prolong the agony of a dozen kolkhozes [collective farms]. Would it not be more profitable to provide thousands of kolkhozes with weather information and unique information about the level of ground waters and the development of gullies, and the condition of the vegetation and the ripening of agricultural crops, and the accumulation of pests and the direction of their migration?

I am convinced that the financial asphyxiation of space research will only deepen social difficulties. But, let us be honest, it is also impossible to keep on spending allocations as we have been doing. Space begins from the earth. This sounds like a well-known aphorism, but it is true. This entire fantasy is being created with your crumpled rubles, and mine. But space should also end at the earth. The might of space science and industry should be turned to develop the ground infrastructure for satellite systems. We cannot make use of the most valuable information—there is no magnetic tape for high-density recording. The first television satellites were brought on line in 1972 but they are still making promises about putting receiving antennas on sale. The gap between sky and earth is depriving space research of the lion's share of the income it could possibly make. This is exactly why the authors of the textbooks on space subjects have to use all their verbs in the future tense: "expect considerable return," "should offer," "will find applications...." They have carried out the launches, received stars and state prizes, degrees, titles, and so forth. Everything should start with the launch, and even earlier. Each project should be accompanied by a commercial plan and an accurate calculation of the financial channels, insurance options, and so forth. In general, there is not enough of the pragmatism, if you like, of healthy mercantilism in USSR space policy.

Now it is time for a sober and impartial assessment of what is happening, extreme openness and dialogue. Space research is not ready for market relations. What is needed is an integrated concept for its development under the new conditions. What is required first and foremost is capital repairs to the management system. The professionalism associated with differentiation and specialization in management functions is still far off.

Just take the most recent laws. They create prerequisites for advances but naturally they cannot resolve all the issues involved in activity that is so diverse. The sovkhoz [state farm], the little factory that makes riveted sauce pans, and the giant scientific-production association are all state enterprises. Can all their activities really be regulated with a single law? The answer is obvious. It is the same with ownership and other property rules. Who owns a stool in an institution? On whose balance book does the institution appear? Who has jurisdiction over an aircraft? It is the Ministry of Civil Aviation because that is what it says in the USSR Air Code. Who owns a satellite? No one! There is no such unit of property and so it is impossible to define accurately who enjoys the rights of income derived from its use. In the field of space communications these problems are somehow being resolved. But in the field of remote sensing of the earth it is still not clear who can sell the satellite pictures. If it is whoever really owns them, then it turns out to be whoever developed the corresponding satellite, place the instruments aboard it, launched it, and controls it. If it is all of these, then what proportions should each receive when the calculations are made, particularly the calculation for hard currency sales. Soviet law does not provide protection for things like satellite signals, which may be captured or jammed by an outside radio transmitter; satellite data processed to various levels, and information derived from them may be captured; so may the software support for satellite systems. Property relationships are totally unregulated during the course of experiments aboard Soviet space vehicles. A mass of problems will inevitably arise when we start to produce new materials in space because the technological module has been made by one organization, what goes inside it by another, the launch is carried out by yet another organization, and others control the process and remove the product, while yet others....

I understand that these matters are far removed from the romantic notion of space exploration. But without them any talk about a return from space research cannot be serious. The economic aspects of a satellite system are extremely complex entity. Its functions usually extend far beyond the borders of the USSR. And at the same time dozens of organizations of different departmental subordination are simultaneously involved in the development and operation of a satellite system. In terms of status some of them are military, which does little to promote commerce, particularly in the international aspects. How can stable economic relations be organized between them? I think that we shall have to have special legislation here. And not just the latest declaration about space for peace, but proper legal documents that reflect the specific nature of activity in space.

We also need organizational measures, for example, the development of a space concern or association. We really do have an inexhaustible capacity to reduce any healthy initiative to the absurd. The hasty changes of minsterial signboards to make them more stylish and attractive have discredited the idea of creating economic structures on a contractual basis. The USSR Supreme Soviet has prevented transformation of the Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises into a concern. An explosion of indignation followed the attempt to organize the "Vodstroy" state concern for water resources to replace the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources. Similarly, even the industrialists themselves feel that by signing a contract to join an association they are only making their position more complicated. It is not understood why the deductions upward are still retained; and the need for various kinds of agreements also; as a rule, foreign economic functions are assumed by the associations but subsequently there is an arbitrary disposition of the hard currency obtained. Previously a ministry could appeal for some kind of assistance. But now this is a thing of the past. And the misgivings that joining a bureaucratized structure will scare off serious foreign contracting parties are justified.

What can we advise in this connection? Perhaps a certain gradual approach. Set up for interested enterprises on a parity basis a firm that, on orders from them, would deal with risky innovative projects, do the preliminary work on international deals, and provide services and advertising. And, of course, a sector commercial bank with an expert, top-level economic services. The space complex does possess considerable resources. They used be directed on a massive scale into the most profitable and promising avenues. The creation of a commercial bank would make it possible to attract temporarily free assets from other sectors, and foreign capital. It is of fundamental importance that one attribute of the banking system should be purely economic forms of management.

It is redundant to say that our path into space has not been strewn with roses. But losing the tempo in the development of space research is unjustified and could be difficult to regain. Is this in the national interest?

Tupolev Tests 'New Generation' Tu-204 Airliner

PM2208131590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Report by I. Khrekin from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Tomorrow is USSR Air Fleet Day. This is a particularly joyful holiday for aircraft builders who are working together with general designer Tupolev.

[Khrekin] At the Ulyanovsk aeroindustrial complex the latest trials of the new Tu-204 airliner have taken place.

Why have you come?

[A.A. Tupolev, general designer] To see the first flight, to inspire the collective which is working on this machine.

[Khrekin] Could you tell us how this aircraft differs from the preceding ones?

[Tupolov] It is the first product of a series production plant.

[Khrekin] How will it differ from previous models which are currently in service?

[Tupolev] This is an aircraft of a completely new generation. It has a high standard of passenger comfort and simultaneously very low fuel consumption. Only 19 grams per passenger/kilometer, whereas aircraft currently in service use more than 30 grams.

[Khrekin] The Tu-204 is a fundamentally new, fourth generation aircraft which is to be used on internal and foreign routes. It is economical and clean, full of electronic equipment, and more reliable.

We congratulate you on the successful test.

[L.A. Lanovskiy, chief designer] Thank you, thank you, thank you.

[Khrekin] Can you describe your feelings?

[Lanovskiy] What can I say, I am very happy, because now when the second machine is going into production, we will be able to considerably speed up the certification of the aircraft. According to our schedule we are to start carrying passengers next year. I believe that having obtained the second machine, we will make considerable progress.

New Cardiovascular Diagnostic System Developed

PM2208150290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Report by S. Sergeyev from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Chelyabinsk medical workers and engineers have developed a fundamentally new method and equipment for diagnosing cardiovascular diseases.

[Sergeyev] The new system has been named "Kentavr." And the specialists and medical staff who have used it are simply delighted. With the help of the "Kentavr" it is possible, literally within minutes, to obtain exhaustive information about the functioning of the cardiovascular system. It can be used to conduct long-term and continuous observation without intervention in the organism, that is, without pain.

The method and equipment have been devised by Professor A.A. Astakhov, doctor of medical sciences and staffer of the Urals Institute for Avanced Medical Training.

[Professor A.A. Astakhov, doctor of medical science] This instrument has been approved by the committee for new equipment under the USSR Ministry of Health. The "Kentavr" has been tested and approved at the Anesthesiology Department of the Moscow Oncological Center, the Leningrad Military Medicine Academy, and the Leningrad First Aid Institute.

[Sergeyev] What is the cost of the "Kentavr"? Can our ordinary city and rayon hospitals afford it? Or is it rather expensive?

[Astakhov] It is entirely affordable now for medical establishments, but together with engineers we are constantly working to bring the price down even further. So that this instrument, the fourth generation "Kentavr," can be acquired by hospitals and polyclinics which do not have the money to buy expensive equipment.

Baltic Republics

Anniversary of Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact Marked

Landsbergis Welcomes Action

LD2208135390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council, speaking at a Supreme Council Session, welcomed the European Way action planned for 22-24 August, which the Sajudis Seimas Council intends to hold at the Lazdijai customs point on the occasion of the anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. During this action, the participants plan to cross the Soviet-Polish border en masse. The chairman invited the parliamentarians to participate in the action. This undertaking is being propagandized by Sajudis activists, and television, radio, and newspaper coverage has been placed at their disposal.

There are also people in Lithuania, however, who regard the action with alarm and indignation, and who are protesting against it being held. The deputies of the people's soviet in the town of Snechkus have adopted a statement which says, among other things, that the organizers of the action are setting out to create a situation of conflict, wreck the negotiations with Moscow, and establish dictatorship in the republic. The Citizens' Committee of the Lithuania Soviet Socialist Republic has adopted an appeal to people of Lithuania, in which it described the plan to cross the state border illegally as a widescale provocation, the aim of which is to destabilize the political situation in Europe and step up the tension between the USSR and Lithuania.

Burokevicius on Sajudis Actions

LD2208191690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 90

["Statement" by M. Burokevicius, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee, made in Vilnius on 22 August; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [First announcer] And now let us return to the situation in Lithuania. Comrade Burokevicius, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, today invited our correspondent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania—CPSU. He made the following statement for the Vremya program.

[Burokevicius] [video shows him sitting behind a desk in an office] The political tension in Lithuania is becoming aggravated. Right-wing radicals from Sajudis continue to deliver inflammatory statements to the mass media. A key link in the campaign to whip up nationalistic hysteria, according to the very rumors of the organizers, is to be the so-called Week of Europe in Lithuania, the holding of which is planned by Sajudis with the leadership of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania standing behind it from 23-30 August 1990.

In the course of the week it is proposed—apart from holding a number of propaganda actions on the territory of the republic—to organize a mass breakthrough on the Soviet-Polish border and seize the Lazdijai border checkpoint using Sajudis guerilla forces, who will act as demonstrators, and to allow to cross the border into Lithuania a large group of foreigners, mostly Polish Lithuanians who will be issued entry visas by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania.

A special statement on this question by the Sajudis Sejm of 24 July 1990 says the following:

The whole of Europe took part in the destruction of the Berlin Wall. Such a wall is preventing Lithuania, too, from embarking upon the European path. The only gate on this path is the Lazdijai customs, under the control of the occupation army. On 21 August Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania, stated that action is necessary—otherwise how will we hold talks, if we do not control the border?

Everything that has been said shows this as an anti-Soviet action carried out by radicals from Sajudis and directed at thwarting the talks between the delegation of the USSR and Lithuania.

The progressive public of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic condemns the provocative action by the hawks of Lithuania. We call for sensible steps and actions.

I think that the border guards will do everything to ensure that citizens of the USSR and Poland will on those days be able to communicate freely, on the basis of Soviet laws.

[Second Announcer] To prevent disturbances while that action is being carried out, the border troops command has strengthened the guard on that section of the state border. There have been meetings between representatives of the border guard and officials of the border guard of the Republic of Poland.

The position of the border troops command is being actively explained during meetings between border guard officers and the inhabitants of Lithuania.

The command of the okrug stated its firm position in an official document sent to Kazimiera Prunskiene, prime minister of Lithuania and, while sharing that concern, is taking the necessary measures to prevent disturbances.

We have received a report by telephone from the Klaipeda City Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania—CPSU and the Klaipeda Citizens' Committee of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. It says that on the night of 21-22 August, unknown rogues defiled a memorial to Soviet servicemen who perished during the liberation of the city from fascists in the military cemetery in Klaipeda.

There was a rally in the city today. Its participants expressed protest in connection with this act of vandalism, and adopted an appeal to the inhabitants of Klaipeda. The statement has also been handed over to the procurator of the city, demanding the commencement of criminal proceedings.

Lithuanian Rally Marks Pact

LD2208204790 Moscow TASS in English 2037 GMT 22 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Lazdijai, Lithuania August 22 TASS—The European cross-border rally started today in Lithuania's Lazdijai district bordering on Poland. The rally was organised by the Lithuanian movement Sajudis in connection with the 51st anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. Representatives of a number of East European countries are expected to participate.

The first groups of participants in the rally crossed the state border into Poland at six p.m. local time. Some 500 people crossed the border within two hours. The crossing proceeds in an organised way, on lists drawn up by the organisers of the rally and with the presentation of documents.

From early morning large groups of people from all over the republic started to arrive in the camp pitched on the Lithuanian side. About two thousand people gathered by the evening. Residents of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, the German Democratic Republic and other countries gather in the tent city on the other side of the border on the Polish territory.

The organisers of the rally which includes a mass crossing of the state border by its participants say that its purpose is to blaze the trail into the free world and to speed up the transfer of the control over western borders to the Lithuanian government.

The attitude to this rally in Lithuania is not unanimous. Citizens' committee of Lithuania described the rally as a large-scale provocation. The council of people's deputies of the city of Snieckus, protesting against the rally, declared that its purpose is to create a conflict situation and disrupt negotiations with Moscow. Frontier guards expressed concern over the preservation of order on the state frontier.

President of the Lithuanian parliament Vytautas Landsbergis and chief of the Baltic Frontier Guards District Lieutenant General Valentin Gaponenko reached agreement today that Lithuanian state authorities will not support illegal actions on the border, while frontier guard commanders will provide an opportunity for simplified procedures for crossing the border in specified places.

Chief of the Lazdijai frontier post Mikhail Sobgaida told TASS: "We are not against goodneighbourly contacts, but we believe that there must be calm and order on the state frontier. We hope that it will be so during the rally, and we shall do our utmost to ensure this."

The participants in the rally who crossed the border today should return to Lithuania by midnight. The arrival of participants in the rally from the Polish side is expected tomorrow.

'European Way' Start Reported

LD2208225690 Vilnius International Service in English 2100 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] The 51st anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact is being marked by the Lithuanian Sajudis Movement inspired action the European Way on the Lithuanian and Polish border. The Lithuanian camp has been set up two kilometers from the Lazdijai custom house and the European camp is about six kilometers from the border within the Polish [word indistinct]. The Sajudis information agency reports that today from 1800 to 2000, 560 participants of the Lithuanian camp crossed the state border and arrived at the European camp to take part in a special program. The border is crossed in accord with a preliminary list made by the organizers of the action after the verification of the Soviet passports (?and end) the conventional check-up performed by the employees of the custom house. So far there have been no reports of any incidents or attempts to prevent people from crossing the border. At the check-up border crossing point there are headquarters coordinating the actions of border guards and the Sajudis movement activists.

The Sajudis information agency reports that when crossing the border the first group of the representatives of the Lithuanian camp led by the organizers of the action intended to hand in an ultimatum to the chiefs of the Soviet border guards demanding that since 23 August the border control as well as the Lazdijai custom house be ceded to the Lithuanian government. However, the ultimatum was rejected and the high-ranking officers vanished from the scene. Then an attempt was made to read out the text of the ultimatum through a loudspeaker but the border guards turned on their loudspeakers broadcasting music at a top volume. Tomorrow the Lithuanian camp expects from 100-300,000 participants. It is known that on the Polish side the European camp consists of participants from Czechoslovakia, France, Canada, West Germany, and other countries.

Chairman of the Lithuanian parliament Vytataus Landsbergis has pointed out that there are no guarantees that the camps may be infiltrated with some provocateurs who should be immediately isolated by the demonstrators themselves. Today Vytautas Landsbergis met the commander of the Soviet troops guarding the Baltic border, General (?Gopanenko), who regards The European Way action with goodwill and responsibility and asserts that Soviet border guards are ready to do their best that there should be no problems in crossing the border. According to the general director of the Lithuanian Defense Department some of the Soviet troops stationed in Lithuania are prepared for action.

Polish Reception Noted

LD2308092790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2105 GMT 22 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Malchun]

[Text] Suwalki, Poland, 23 Aug (TASS) Approximately 500 people crossed the Soviet-Polish state border yesterday evening, carrying their internal identity cards rather than foreign passports. No special customs formalities were involved, either. Thus begun the mass action under the high-sounding name "Road Toward Free Europe," organized by the Lithuanian Sajudis movement and the Polish Solidarity.

Three columns of them, carrying tricolored Lithuanian flags and black banners with the anarcho-syndicalist emblem, marched in an organized manner from the Lazdijai border crossing point on the Soviet side to the outskirts of Ogorodniki in Suwalki Voivodship. They also carried a symbolic key to the border. Before "opening" it, Sajudis representatives read a statement containing an ultimatum to the Soviet border and customs authorities to leave their posts by 1200 on 23 August.

Apart from those who live in Lithuania and who were in the majority, residents of other Baltic republics, Russians, Belorussians, representatives of a number of political parties and platforms, in particular of the Democratic Union, the Democratic Party of Russia, and some deputies to the Moscow and Leningrad Soviets are also taking part in the march.

There were not many of those who met them on the Polish side—several dozen motor vehicles in all. These delivered the local Solidarity representatives and persons of Lithuanian origin from villages in the vicinity. An impromptu folk concert took place by the lake.

Colonel Zdzislaw Jakubiszyn, responsible for protecting this sector of the Polish border told a TASS correspondent that, in turn, all those who so wish can pay a return visit to the Soviet side today. He referred to an accord which exists with Soviet counterparts in Lazdijai.

Krzysztof Szulc, head of the organizing committee on the Polish side, representing the regional board of the Solidarity trade union stressed that this is the first time in the history of our countries that an event of this kind has been organized. According to him 4,000-5,000 Poles with documents will cross the USSR border at 1100 today.

They will take part in an open-air mass organized in Lazdijai, a rally, and music-making by the fire. They are all due to return to their homes the following day.

Despite the propaganda hullabaloo, the action failed to spread to the masses. Erikas Kalyachyus, captain of militia of the Lithuanian Republic noted that there have been no excesses.

Events To Mark Pact Previewed

PM2208132790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[I. Litvinova report: "After the 'Baltic Path' the 'European' Path"]

[Text] Riga—The Latvian People's Front [LPF], in conjunction with its neighbors from Lithuania and Estonia, is continuing its preparations for the scheduled events of 23 August.

The decision to hold these events on the day that the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was signed in 1939 was adopted in conjunction with Lithuania's Sajudis and the Estonian People's Front. Last year's "Baltic path" human chain will be replaced this year by the bonfires of the "European path." They will begin to burn at 1930 hours 23 August in Estonia, 15 minutes later they will flare up in Latvia, and they will be lit in Lithuania at 2000 hours. Bells will ring at the same time.

The LPF leadership has urged deputies of various levels to take part in these events by holding a soiree "with the people" 23 August. Representatives of Latvian and Estonian informal movements will also also come along to Lazdiyay in Lithuania where it is intended to hold a demonstration involving many thousands of people near the Soviet-Polish border. In its appeal, at least, the Sajudis Seimas council called on "all Lithuania" to gather by the border. The Seimas is demanding "that the Soviet Government give Lithuania back the keys to all gates to the free world on 23 August." Colonel V. Antsupov, chief of the Baltic Border District Political Department, said in an interview with ZA RODINU that "statements of this kind can only provoke one feeling—alarm."

A group of border officers have come from Riga to Lazdiyayskiy Rayon, where the main events of the "European path" are planned. They met with interested people, exchanged information, and set out their stance. V. Antsupov said that the political information is quite contradictory. There is no unity of opinion even among members of Sajudis as regards the coming action. Some people, V. Antsupov said, are almost threatening a mass turnout of people by the border line. Others are taking more moderate positions, proposing to confine themselves to a rally.

I telephoned V. Antsupov on 20 August. The colonel said that the district had sent an official letter to Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene, saying that if attempts are made to violate the border, the border guards will act in full accordance with existing USSR law. The letter asked her to "pacify" the demonstration's organizers. It is clear from K. Prunskiene's reply that she shares the border guards' concern.

Foreign Ministry Makes Comment

LD2308101190 Moscow TASS in English 0941 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Follows a Soviet Foreign Ministry statement released here today:

"As is known, on August 23 an action that has been named The Baltic Way to Europe, has been scheduled for August 23.

It is to be held by Sajudis together with Popular Fronts in Lativa and Estonia within the framework of 'a week of Europe in Lithuania' planned in the Lithuanian Republic on the occasion of the anniversary of the signing of the 'Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact'. Up to 100,000 citizens from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and some 10,000 from Poland, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic are expected to take part.

Actually, this will mean a intentional, forceful violation of the state border. People without the appropriate documents intend to cross into Poland. In addition, organisers of the (?violaiton) admit that engineer-technical installations and border signs may be destroyed.

This extreme propaganda action has an illegitimate character. It pursues primarily political aims and benefits those who are interested in whipping up the already nervous situation in Lithuania.

The responsibility of possible negative consequences in the holding of this action falls on the leadership of the republic.

Soviet bodies, authorised to protect the state border, rely on a political settlement in that growing conflict and support a civilised outcome to the action."

Baltic Border Chief Interviewed

PM2208180790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Aug 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent: "'Sajudis': Action on Border"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The situation is very tense at the moment on the Soviet-Polish border in the vicinity of Lazdijai (Lithuania). For what reason? Our correspondent asked Lieutenant General V.K. Gaponenko, chief of Baltic Border District Troops, to comment on the situation.

"About two weeks ago (it was all behind the scenes at first) 'Sajudis,' in conjunction with the Latvian and Estonian People's Fronts, started to prepare an action on the border, which was christened 'Continuing the Baltic Path'," Valentin Konstantinovich said. "It is also known as 'Following the Baltic Path to Europe.' In other words, the plan is to openly destroy the border so that the Soviet-Polish border can be freely crossed in the future in the vicinity of Lazdijai. It was officially announced the other day that several tens of thousands of people would be gathering there."

[Correspondent] When will this take place?

[Gaponenko] On 23 August, the anniversary of the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact.

People without documents authorizing them to cross the border are intending to go to Poland en masse, so to speak. I believe there are politicial aims here. In particular, to attract attention to "Sajudis" again, to the Act on the Republic's Independence, although a moratorium has been placed on it... That is, our view is as follows: "Sajudis" is trying to take control of the state border. And it has chosen very peculiar methods. That is, the destruction of border markers and installations. I would stress though that not everyone in "Sajudis" intends to do this, but the extremist wing that has now become evident. The important thing is that it is even taking place against the will of the Lithuanian government.

[Correspondent] And what are the border guards going to do about it?

[Gaponenko] We have reinforced the border posts in this sector and increased their strength. We have brought in equipment, including armored transporters. Reserves have been brought up.

Indeed, these actions are also necessary. But the main emphasis is on political means of resolving the developing conflict.

[Correspondent] If you can, Valentin Konstantinovich, explain this specific aspect.

[Gaponenko] Certainly. Official representations have been made to the republic's government demonstrating the groundlessness of this action and its possible consequences. The representations say that the action is geared to causing trouble on the border. There have been conversations at many labor collectives.

[Correspondent] Let us return to the Lithuanian government's position. How did it react to your official representations?

[Gaponenko] The formal reaction was correct. It gave corresponding instructions to its organs. But the facts show that nothing has changed in the republic and efforts to carry out the action are increasing.

[Correspondent] And if the political methods do not work, Valentin Konstantinovich?

[Gaponenko] The border guards will then act in accordance with the law. If we feel that people have to be let across the border from the Polish side and from our side on that day we intend to do that at a checkpoint, under the control of the border authorities and customs organs. That is, the border guards favor a civilized outcome to this action.

Attack on Lithuanian Archives Protested 22 Aug

Motieka Appeals to Public

LD2208222390 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] The Lithuanian Communist Party [CPSU] organization, having applied for assistance to the occupation army, is demanding that the archives of the former Institute of Party History be handed over to them. On the instructions of the presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, after the meeting of the presidium this evening, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council Kazimieras Motieka appealed to the people of Lithuania. He announced that the leaders of the Lithuanian Communist Party presented an ultimatum to the officials of the archives attached to the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, to be ready to hand over all the archives by 0915 tomorrow [23 August].

Late in the evening the Ministry of Internal Affairs announced that armed forces and armored vehicles were concentrated at the archives building on Gedimino Prospektas.

This is a new impudent challenge to our reviving Lithuania, stated Kazimieras Motieka. At present the number of paratroopers in the premises of the archives has been increased. All the circumstances show that the archives may be plundered tonight and taken away by force. Kazimieras Motieka announced that today the bureau of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party decided to hand over these archives to the government, including them into the structure of the Lithuanian state archives. The presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Council adopted a decision today to accept these archives as having important historical, cultural, and scientific value. The Lithuanian government is instructed to take over the former Lithuanian Communist Party archives from today and include them in the joint system of the archives of the Republic of Lithuania. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Defense Department were instructed to ensure the protection of these archives.

These archives contain a unique collection of books not available at any Lithuanian library. There are archives of various parties of the presoviet period and other documents of exceptional historical importance.

Kazimieras Motieka invited the residents of Vilnius to gather as soon as possible at the archives building and guard them. The deputy chairman of the Supreme Council noted that this day has been chosen for such action not by accident. The whole of Lithuania is focussing its attention on Lazdijai rayon where the action of the European way is taking place. Forces hostile to the independence of Lithuania are trying to make use of this.

Militiamen Attempt To Enter

LD2308110290

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0830 GMT on 23 August carries a live report from the Lithuanian Communist Party Archives.

Correspondent A. Usas begins: "The clock on Gediminas Avenue reads 1030. People are hurrying to work, only here at No. 12 Gediminas Avenue, the Lithuanian Communist Party Archives, a small group of people and Lithuanian militia men can be seen. You probably know about the course of events. This building has been under public and Lithuanian militia protection since last night." Usas then questions someone "responsible for maintaining order" on events of the previous night, to which the individual replies: "comparatively, it was quiet last night. The soldiers behaved normally; they did not provoke us; they did not use force." the individual adds that a "military vehicle carrying militia men" arrived later that evening, the senior official in the car got out of the vehicle went to the gates of the building; however, he said, people blocked the door and he had to go back to the vehicle.

Usas goes on to say that according to The official report from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the building was full of servicemen and that Deputy Prime Minister R. Ozolas was negotiating with the military men. Usas asks whether the servicemen came after the negotiations. The reply is:

"Yes, they did. There were very many people here, then K. Motieka asked the people to move away from the gates. The crowd did this. Then a vehicle, a (Gaz 53), moved to the central entrance and a colonel wearing a [word indistinct] uniform left the vechicle and ordered his men to leave the building. For the first time I saw their weapons. They had backpacks and [word indistinct]. It was not clear what they had in them. The uniform was rather unusual. It seems that this was some sort of military unit. I must say that I have not seen such a militry unit in Lithuania before."

Usas asks: "So now their numbers in the building are considerably reduced?" To which the speaker responds:

Further, Usas interviews one of the staff members working at the archives. She states: "You know, they have carried out their ultimatum which they declared yesterday." She goes on to say that a list of staff members who would be allowed into the building has been issued; others are simply standing outside and waiting. At 0930, she continues, another attempt was made by the banned staff members to enter the building; however, they were not allowed in.

22 Aug Lithuanian Supreme Council Session Carried

Economic Progress Discussed

LD2208152290

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1145 GMT on 22 August resumes its live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session being held in the Supreme Council Hall in Vilnius.

Deputy Vagnorius begins a discussion of economic reform and comments on criticism aimed against the parliament for lack of economic progress. He notes everything is blamed on nameless political forces. He questions the sources of press control. He briefly describes Lithuania's economic situation. He proposes setting aside some time during each session to hear reports by various departments to learn about their activities.

At 1205 GMT, another deputy asks Vignorius to explain his criticism of the government's foreign policy.

Deputy Rimkus takes the floor. He defends the position of agricultural experts and administrators. He points out that the deputies vote without considering input from the agricultural sector. He cites agricultural area unrest.

At 1210 GMT, a heated debate ensues on agricultural topics. At that time reception deteriorates to become poor.

Deputy Jursenas criticizes Deputy Grakauskas' earlier comments on the press.

At 1220 GMT, Deputy Motieka takes the floor. He characterizes democracy as an order differing from anarchy. He notes the Supreme Council is laboring under new surroundings and in constant awareness of the USSR factor. He criticizes the government's inability to exploit existing opportunities in trade, etc. He has expectations of the government taking appropriate action. He cites Estonia's eight trade bank recognition, even by the USSR. He further cites Estonia as an example of trade and economic successes.

He refutes some of the accusations made against him by way of criticism of his speech in Switzerland. He cites articles from earlier issues of TIESA on the Lithuanian Communist Party stand in support of remaining within the USSR. He also reads quotes in support of the Soviet Army's continuing presence in Lithuania. He admits to quoting Brazauskas.

At 1240 GMT, Deputy Berizovas replies to Motieka's remarks, since he was also mentioned by Motieka. He notes that nothing can be gained by going back in time to quote old remarks in an attempt to compromise Algirdas Brazauskas, who was in a difficult position at that time. He notes one should be ashamed of citing such quotes out of context. He explains that Kazimiera Prunskiene is distancing herself from the negotiation delegation for that same reason. He notes much time is being wasted and that the start of negotiations seems to be far away. He refutes several other accusations made against the Lithuanian Communist Party regarding the archives. In answer to another deputy's question about Prunskiene, he refers to her interview in RESPUBLIKA.

At 1250 GMT, a deputy addresses a question to Beriozov, reminding him of the many Stalinist cadres that have been removed from the Lithuanian Communist Party to make it clean and above reproach. The question pursues the timetable for when the archives will open to reveal those former members who had engaged in repressions.

At 1255 GMT, Deputy Vagnorius asks Beriozov about possible specialist resources for consultation purposes.

At 1300 GMT, a deputy criticizes the Lithuanian Communist Party's activities. He is not critical of isolated individuals. Heated discussion follows. A deputy notes the problem exists not between the Supreme Council and government but with the Lithuanian Communist Party Organization. Several deputies join in the debate. The debate then shifts to agrarian commission questions.

At 1310 GMT, a deputy notes the parliament and the Lithuanian public lack pluralism and experience. He cites the need for devoting more attention to Polish-Lithuanian relations. He says that mistakes have been made on both sides and relations are not improving. The Vilnius region problem needs to be kept in mind when looking at fact, and representatives from that area wish to go to Moscow during negotiations. He points out the possibility that these will support Lithuanian independence.

Supreme Council Activity Debated

LD2208153290

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian continues its live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session being held in the Supreme Council Hall in Vilnius.

At 1330 GMT, the chairman proposes ending the meeting by 1400 GMT. A draft proposal prepared by the presidium could be adopted.

Deputy Saja takes the floor. He alludes to mention of Prunskiene and RESPUBLIKA in earlier proceedings. He points to conscious efforts to set one against the other by certain Communist elements.

At 1340 GMT, Deputy Abisala takes the floor. He notes that the manner of the Supreme Council's activity also affects internal as well as external policy, noting it does not merit praise. He criticizes deputies' lack of politeness to the session's chairman.

At 1345 GMT, Landsbergis criticizes the wording of a draft declaration and says it may not be necessary at this time.

Deputy Vilkas disagrees with this, and feels it is timely to indicate the existence of a fight against corruption.

At 1350 GMT, Landsbergis defends his position. A debate follows with a number of deputies participating.

The chairman notes a vote will only signify approval since there is no quorum. Six deputies are against.

A deputy feels this should not take place in Prunskiene's absence.

The chairman notes the Supreme Council Chairman and the deputy prime minister can sign this declaration, but that it will not become law in the absence of a quorum.

The declaration is read as follows: To task the presidium of the Supreme Council and the government to examine the remarks and proposals expressed by deputies at the 21-22 August 1990 Supreme Council session, and to make an announcement at one of the initial fall session meetings concerning specific measures to remedy the situation.

A motion is made to transfer the undiscussed questions to the September session.

At 1355 GMT, Deputy Zingeris alludes to the Lithuanian declaration against the Iraqi aggression. He informs the session that only five Lithuanians are in the Middle East and they will probably return with the Soviet citizens.

An announcement is then made regarding schedule of Europe Week activities. Some details are provided. No border guard interference is anticipated. Some activities are also planned for Klaipeda.

A question is asked on guarantees by border guards regarding the safety of those crossing. A reply notes that the other side is difficult to predict, but no problems are anticipated.

At 1410 GMT, a deputy raises question of the Klaipeda archives.

Landsbergis explains the archive problem.

A deputy then alludes to information received from Poland regarding an order issued by Moscow not to participate in border action at Lazdijai.

Another deputy notes a meeting with the border guard administration took place after this order was issued, and that no problems are anticipated if order is maintained by participants.

At 1415 GMT, Landsbergis reveals he was visited by Border Guard General (Zaponeka) who promised he would try to avoid any problems. Landsbergis does not preclude agitation or inspired incidents, and cautions they should be guarded against.

Landsbergis announces Lithuanian journalist Kestutis [name indistinct] was awarded the Freedom Fund Prize. At 1420 GMT the live relay ends.

Lithuanian Negotiation Delegation Approved

Group Formation Viewed

LD2208191290 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 21 Aug 90

[By Roma Pakaniene]

[Text] As we already reported today, the Lithuanian Supreme Council approved the composition of the state delegation for the negotiations with the Soviet Union. The delegation consists of eight members. They all are deputies of the Supreme Council, four of them are members of the government.

The resolution on the composition of this delegation states that it is led by the chairman of the Supreme Council, in this case, by Vytautas Landsbergis. The composition of the delegation, if necessary, will be enlarged by new members. The resolution also states that the delegation is authorized to sign a protocol on the beginning of the negotiations and conditions and to conduct interstate negotiations with the Soviet Union's delegation.

The parliament started discussing the composition of the delegation late in the evening and almost nobody expected that it would be approved today. Furthermore, since a majority of deputies stated that they were unable to vote without having listened to Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene—or at least because she was not taking part in the debate.

I will explain that at the beginning of July the Supreme Council adopted a decision instructing the chairman of the Supreme Council and the prime minister to start the formation of the state delegation. Somewhat later, in August, Kazimiera Prunskiene stated officially in the press that she did not intend to take part in strained parliamentary disputes on this issue and, most probably, would refuse to take part in the delegation. This decision by the prime minister, it seems, was stipulated by the fact that the leadership of the Supreme Council ignored a proposal by Kazimiera Prunskiene that she should be authorized to lead the delegation. Having given such a verbal refusal to take part in the delegation, the prime minister has left for a brief rest in Greece.

At today's session some deputies asked to wait for the prime minister's return, but, according to Vytautas Landsbergis, verbal refusal is no foundation not to include her in the delegation. Thus, Kazimiera Prunskiene has been confirmed as a member of the official delegation. By the way, according to the provisional constitution of the Lithuanian state, such a delegation must be led by the chairman of the Supreme Council. This is stated in today's resolution.

In spite of this, the delegates had doubts about the control of the delegation's work and raised the following question: If the negotiations are conducted by the Supreme Council, who is going to ratify the agreements? This very Supreme Council! It means there will be no control.

A good idea in this respect was proposed by Vice Premier Romualdas Ozolas, who is also member of the delegation. Unfortunately, he did not express it during the sitting. In his opinion, there could be two groups of the delegation—one group to conduct the negotiations and one group to implement the decisions of negotiations. The group conducting the negotiations would be led by the chairman of the Supreme Council—he would also lead the whole work. Meanwhile, the group for the implementation of the negotiations would be led by the prime minister, and the control over these two groups would be exerted by the Supreme Council. Thus, people would be controled, and this is exceptionally important in our situation, said Romualdas Ozolas. In his opinion, the delegation approved today will simply be ineffective. It will be able to talk with its partners only about politics, but what are we going to talk about with the Kremlin on concrete issues? The other side's delegation is formed to solve not political but economic issues, Romualdas Ozolas said.

The opinion of another interlocutor, the representative of the Republic of Lithuania in Moscow, Egidijus Bickauskas, is similiar. First of all, he said, the principle on which the delegation was formed is doubtful. Was it necessary to approve the chairman of the Supreme Council as leader of the delegation? His rank is much higher than that of the leader of the Soviet Union's delegation, Nikolay Ryzhkov. Would it not be better for us to form a delegation of the same rank, refuting the view that Lithuania is not inclined to follow Moscow's example. Before the examination of this issue Egidijus Bickauskas was convinced that the composition of the delegation would change after the discussions. In his opinion, it should include more members of the government. Meanwhile, the Supreme Council could be represented by one or two members of its leadership. It is most important, he said, that the delegation should consist of as many competent people as possible, those who understand the economy and law, and also those who are familiar with Moscow's backstage and who have a wide circle of acquaintances. Egidijus Bickaukas mentioned here the name of former Soviet deputy, Deputy Nikolajus Medvedevas.

This name was mentioned to me by another interlocutor, one of the leaders of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Justas Paleckis. In his opinion, the delegation should include more former people's deputies of the Soviet Union, who, according to him, have attended the school of struggle and experience. "Now I see only three experienced persons—Landsbergis, Ozolas, and Prunskiene," he said. All the others are novices. Even the minister of justice, Pranas Kuris, an excellent expert of international law, is a novice in the sense that he is not familiar with Moscow's political kitchen. In the present complex situation it would be better for Lithuania to have an experienced team, Justas Paleckis said.

But after severe criticisms about the delegation's composition the deputies of the Supreme Council approved the delegation of eight people by 90 votes for, with 4 abstentions. I emphasize, that when the negotiations start it will be, most likely, enlarged by new members. Apart from that, the delegation will have many consultants and experts, including representatives of the Lithuanian emigrees. In the nearest future the members of the Lithuanian delegation will go to Moscow to talk about the conditions of the negotiations. According to Egidijus Bickaukas, the first meeting of the delegations will be a working one and will not mean the beginning of the negotiations. In Moscow, probably, another group of persons will be formed who, together with Lithuania's representatives, will coordinate the protocol of the negotiations. The signing of the protocol by Moscow and Vilnius will mean the beginning of the negotiations. Only then, according to Romualdas Ozolas, will the negotiations be started.

Rights of Delegates Stated

LD2208200490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] At a session of the Lithuanian Supreme Council the state delegation for talks with the USSR has been approved.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent A. Paulyus] The new delegation was approved by Vitautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council. It includes deputy Aleksandras Abisalas; Emanuelis Zingeris, chairman of the Supreme Council foreign affairs commission; Pranas Kuris, minister of justice; Romuldas Ozalas, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene; Algirdas Algardis Saudargas, minister of foreign affairs; and Ceslovas Stankevicius, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council.

The decision points out that representatives of Latvia and Estonia will be invited to the delegations with the rights of observers, and also that there is still the possibility of inviting to the delegations other necessary individuals, including emigres from Lithuania. The delegations are authorized to sign a protocol on the principle and conditions of talks and to hold talks. [video shows Paulyus seated at table, addressing Landsbergis] And so, the delegation has been formed. What other steps need to be taken by the two sides for their meeting in order to sit at the negotiating table?

[V. Landsbergis] First and foremost, we expect truly reciprocal steps and a fairly lengthy time with the other side, and [a response] to our official proposals on the appointment of a group of experts, and cooperation between these groups on preparing decisions and formulations. Clearly, problems may arise in preparing the documents that lie at the basis or as the text of a treaty or treaties. This also concerns the inaugural or initial protocol, from which will emerge the signing and the beginning of official talks. Our variant to the draft protocol has been presented and adopted, and is probably being discussed. Either observations will come back to us, or we shall have the draft of the other negotiating party.

[Paulyus] Is the protocol you are proposing some kind of precondition for the beginning of talks?

[Landsbergis] No, our variant of the protocol only provides for a partial levelling out of rights, alongside which much of Lithuania's actual life should be smoothed out in order to ensure that talks are held between the partners.

[Paulyus] Following the formation of the delegations, the deputies today got down to discussing the domestic and foreign political situation in Lithuania on the eve of the talks. [video shows council in session and interview with Landsbergis] [end recording]

USSR Talks, Legislature's Work Viewed

90UN2625A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian
1 Aug 90 pp 1-2

[Interview with E. Vilkas, deputy of the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council, member of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, and director of the Institute of Economics of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; published under the rubric "Timely Interview": "'The Best Policy Is Truth'"]

[Text] **This parliamentary season has been difficult for the Supreme Soviet and for the people of the republic. The deputies have hurried to adopt important rulings in order to consolidate changes in the political and economic system of the republic and make them irreversible. And the reaction of society to these rulings often varied. We have only just learned how to understand the complicated interactions of the various political forces and the tangle of their interests, and we have only just tried to put into practice the influence of a coalescing civilian society over the government. You will not learn such things from books or even through the experience of others—only through your own experience, with bruises and bumps. As a result even the vacation the Supreme Soviet is enjoying does not promise to be an easy holiday for the parliamentarians. More likely the respite from the parliamentary "rush" will be used by many of them for analyzing and evaluating the work that has been done and considering upcoming activities, which promise to be no less strained.**

Thus began our conversation with Academician Eduardas Vilkas, deputy of the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council, member of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, and director of the Institute of Economics of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, on one of the parliament's last working days before its departure for the holidays.

[EKHO LITVY] Esteemed deputy, your position is such that you seem to find yourself at the epicenter of the interactions of the most important political forces in the republic. What is your opinion of their position and real role in society and in parliament itself?

[Vilkas] The center of gravity for the entire public life of the republic is currently located in the Supreme Council. People await concrete decisions and actions from the parliament and the government. But the Supreme Council is not a secluded organization. Branches reach from it to all the movements and parties, and it is connected with all levels of society. I believe that this must be most apparent through the system of parliamentary groupings and factions. When any one party or sociopolitical organization dominates in parliament, it is a formula for passing the most stupid rulings. This is why I would very much prefer for a centrist faction to appear in the Supreme Council now. It would break the majority by which the "Sajudis" deputies "rule" in parliament and keep it from being all-powerful. Other forces should organize themselves as well, but it is difficult....

[EKHO LITVY] And the Lithuanian Communist Party? There are still a fair number of Communist deputies in the parliament....

[Vilkas] But you must remember that the Lithuanian Communist Party was once a united state party. One-tenth of all adults were in the Lithuanian Communist Party, and although they were people of all types, it was as though they all took the same position. Now the party is a conglomerate of different opinions. Besides, "Sajudis" itself did not develop independently of the Lithuanian Communist Party. But now we are confronted with their popularity rating. Incidentally, the fact that the rating of "Sajudis" has fallen proves that they have done what they were meant to do: To contribute to an ethnic rebirth. Although, speaking frankly, I do not think that anyone has resurrected some ethnic group. It would be more accurate to say that they "untied the gag." The ethnic group has remained just as it was. "Sajudis" simply encouraged people and gave them bravery, and they began to express ethnic sentiment and to show a wish for independence. But I no longer see objective reasons that would permit "Sajudis" to again become a mass organization. Even though the parliamentary faction of "Sajudis" will, apparently, continue to play an important role for some time.

As for the Lithuanian Communist Party, I do not see how it can independently contribute to the assertion of independence—it can only do it through the parliament.... I also believe that we should not deceive ourselves with regard to the growth in the Lithuanian Communist Party's rating. The party's highest rating was at the time of the 20th congress, because its decision to withdraw from the CPSU, which required much courage, was made within the framework of movement toward independence. But now I understand the situation this way: The rating of the Lithuanian Communist Party has not gone up; instead, the rating of "Sajudis" has gone down, because the rating of the Lithuanian Communist Party has continued to fall since the 20th congress.

Thus it only remains to say that the center of gravity of public life today is in the Supreme Council and the government where the concrete decisions are made.

[EKHO LITVY] But in society today one notices a certain confusion, a rushing from one issue to another—sometimes from issues that are not of very great importance to others that are even less significant. What is the matter?

[Vilkas] I believe that in this case the tone is set by the Supreme Council, whose work up till now has been characterized by much haste and little system. Sometimes questions arise whose essence and nature are not understood for the most part, and it is unclear where they have come from. Apparently this is simply the result of pressure by some forces. Incidentally, it has happened that the Supreme Council has interfered in matters that do not belong to it, for instance in the government's affairs. In the political system which has arisen the distribution of jurisdiction has occurred more or less automatically, and for now we need to make sure that we do not get involved in someone else's affairs and problems. Society expects us to create a system of laws which will help renew us and lay the foundation for future life.

Rushing from one issue to the other contributes to the impression which continues to exist, despite the lessons life has presented us, that we can change people's lives and affirm our independence in one fell swoop. I divide people into those who really think and are able to foresee the future, if only a few steps in advance, and those who are completely subject to some sort of revolutionary idea and do everything to realize it without considering the means. The latter are alien to me. I believe that society can develop normally only through evolutionary changes and that any revolutionary cataclysms are anomalous phenomena. We need decisions that are serious, intelligent, considered, and take into account not one day but the long term. And we need to think how these decisions will be implemented and how people will receive them. Even the best decision, beautifully grounded on theory, will only compromise the idea when it is adopted if people are not ready for it. In general we are talking about a truth which everyone has known for a long time but which is often ignored in practice: One cannot change life faster then people's consciousness changes. On the other hand, if nothing is done at all, then consciousness will not change. The conclusion: Gradualness is needed. Once you have made a step, wait to make the next one while people master the first. It is a delicate business: A sense of what is possible and what is necessary. Not everyone has it.

[EKHO LITVY] But then the question arises of the quality of the body of deputies and the personal responsibility of each deputy for the rulings which have been adopted....

[Vilkas] Unfortunately, in our parliament there are many accidental people. Deputies elected from parties which are more or less known. All sorts of candidates came from "Sajudis" in particular. There are, of course, those who were with "Sajudis" at the start and brought it to its present position. But the majority of the deputies joined "Sajudis" only in the last six months. They still have not had the opportunity to show themselves properly, and the voters have not had time to learn who is who: Elections have followed right after elections. A moral equivalency existed: He is from "Sajudis"—that means that he is in favor of Lithuanian independence, and that was enough. As a result we do not have a parliament of the highest quality. Therefore, when I am asked who the opposition is in the Supreme Council, I answer, "Not who, but what—the incompetence of the deputies." However I do not believe that it is hopeless. A law on recalling deputies should be one of the first laws to be passed. It will raise the accountability and discipline of each of us. There are deputies who trumpet the opinion of their voters without knowing it at all or, even worse, knowing that in reality it is the exact opposite.

[EKHO LITVY] I believe that it is not only a matter of the quality of the body of deputies but also something we touched upon in passing in our conversation—the absence of an efficient mechanism for making decisions whereby society may not only control that process but also participate directly in it, even to the point of having the deciding word in especially important instances.

[Vilkas] Yes, that is so: An efficient mechanism for making decisions has not yet been created. The pace is too fast, and as a result we are under a constant deadline. We do not have time to receive the opinions of the public and to set up a mechanism for return communications. And how can we do without that when we are discussing economic laws in parliament? What will the passage of such laws mean to teachers and artists? And in the meantime the people working in production who could indicate specific deficiencies remain outside the battle and are unable to take part in the process of discussing a draft bill. This causes and will continue to cause Lithuania tremendous damage. What does a bad law on enterprises mean? Billions in losses. And all from haste.

[EKHO LITVY] However it is not always a question of haste. Our readers write us that the preparations for negotiations with Moscow, in their opinion, have been unjustifiably drawn out.

[Vilkas] Yes, I also believe that negotiations should have already begun. I do not understand why we are taking so long on this issue. We endured a blockade because of negotiations. And now that there is an opportunity to begin them, time passes. In my opinion there can only be one explanation: We are waiting for the Union to dissolve so that we can conclude a treaty not with it but with, let us say, Russia. But I believe that we will not play the "Russian card."

We do not have any other means of achieving independence than by negotiating it. Even smaller issues cannot be resolved any other way. So by putting off the negotiations we put off our independence. I believe that negotiations with Moscow should begin immediately and that we are completely ready for them. Draft treaties have been developed. Of course, in the course of the negotiations they will try to tie us to the Union in some fashion. But I am convinced that we need not fear this because we are tied to it my nature itself. If we intended to migrate somewhere else entirely, then of course we could cut off all ties. But if we are to remain where we are, then it is better to have good, friendly relations with the Soviet Union. And this is possible if we not only insist on our own interests but also try to take into account the interests of the Union. In my opinion a scenario such as signing a treaty on cooperation is possible. This treaty would not be about Lithuania's membership in the Union; it would be about relations with it—economic, political, and others. Our ties would remain. I believe that if we act correctly, we will achieve independence by the end of this year. All our reforms are currently directed at uncertainty in our relations with the USSR.

[EKHO LITVY] And what kind of relations do you see with the republics—Russia, for instance? You are a member of the commission to prepare for negotiations with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. It would seem, judging by the meeting of the chairman of the Supreme Soviets of Russia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia in Jurmala, that this matter is moving forward more quickly than the preparations for negotiations with Moscow are.

[Vilkas] On 25 July we began official negotiations with Russia. Official consultations concluded with the creation of a group of experts on various questions who, over the course of a month, are supposed to prepare drafts of sections of a treaty. The difficulty is that relations between Russia and the Union also remain unclear. It is one thing to declare oneself a sovereign republic and another to implement that sovereignty. We still do not know for certain whether we should negotiate deliveries of oil with Russia or with the Union, although it has been declared that natural resources are the property of the republic.

Russia has viewed all our proposals very favorably: Such as to sign a political treaty in the form of a declaration and a treaty on economic cooperation in two parts. The first part is an agreement on clearing accounts between states. I am speaking of the natural resources of Russia and of our deliveries of food goods and light industry products. Incidentally, Russia itself proposed that accounts not be conducted at world prices during the transition period. True, prices will be twice as high as those existing today.... The second part of the agreement will regulate direct ties between enterprises of Lithuania and Russia on the principles of a free common market. But apparently all of this will not be signed before a Union treaty is determined. So, we await negotiations with the Union, and for them the best policy is truth.

Lithuania's Prunskiene Interviewed on Past, Future

*PM2208155090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 3*

[Interview with Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene by IZVESTIYA special correspondents L. Kapelyushnyy and A. Shalnev in Vilnius: "What Lithuania Is Leaving Behind and Where It Is Going"—date not given; first three paragraphs are correspondents' introduction]

[Text] Vilnius—Our conversation was interrupted twice. The first time by the insistent ringing of the telephone. The premier picked up the receiver and then explained that parliament was inquiring how yesterday's talks with the Russian delegation had ended. K. Prunskiene had something to brag about: The cooperation agreement signed with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] for the year 1991 predetermines economic stabilization and raises the republic to a qualitatively new level of mutual relations with the Union. The second break lasted several hours. We did not keep to the time allocated and other visitors arrived—representatives of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. "This cannot be postponed, this is very serious and important..."

We think these details should be cited because they are characteristic of the processes taking place in Lithuania today. On the one hand, it is seeking ways to achieve mutual understanding and cooperation with the USSR with equal partnership rights, on the other, it is seeking an outlet onto the international arena.

The prime minister was clear on our proposed topic of conversation and understood everything about it—both what Lithuania is leaving behind (if not escaping from) and where it is headed—sovereignty, statehood. "But we are not leaving our land, we are staying there, with our old neighbors in the East and in the West, in the North and in the South, and we want to live in peace and harmony with everyone."

[IZVESTIYA] Our first question concerns the economic situation.

[Prunskiene] The general level of the economy in the first half-year was down 15-17 percent. But I do not think that percentages capture the true deterioration in the situation. The blockade at the end of the second quarter struck us a painful blow, the fallout of its consequences will be protracted. For instance, holdups with grain supplies entailed the slaughter of livestock. The peasant can count—why keep livestock if there is going to be no feed? After all, not only was there no grain, grasses were not cut in time, because equipment was standing idle, and no one knew whether it would prove possible to harvest grain crops. Thus next year we will be selling the Union only 120,000 tonnes of meat instead of 170,000. And this year instead of 170,000 tonnes we will barely scrape together 150,000-155,000 tonnes.

I do not want to bombard you with figures, I will just say the main thing—the blockade upset economic stability. It is very hard to put this to rights.

[IZVESTIYA] However, there is the widespread opinion that the economic sanctions against Lithuania were ineffective and that there was no blockade as such. The center found itself incapable of closing off all the roads. Horizontal partnership ties based on mutual interest are stronger than bans.

[Prunskiene] The blockade was ineffective in that it proved once again that economic problems cannot be resolved from a position of strength.

[IZVESTIYA] But it nevertheless forced you to agree to a moratorium and now at least progress is being made toward talks with the USSR....

[Prunskiene] I would not link the outright pressure applied by the blockade with our decision to adopt a moratorium on the Act of Independence, although the situation with agricultural work did make it imperative. The moratorium was a compromise solution for both sides. It is of political rather than legal significance. The Act of Independence developed into other legislative and normative documents and has been enshrined at many levels of our state structure, and the Fundamental Law has not been been revoked. No, this was a political maneuver, and both sides know what it is worth. Incidentally, the republic's population were also aware of this, sociological studies confirm that roughly 80 percent of those polled back us. It would have been painless and sensible, in my view, to accept the government's proposal and declare a moratorium a month earlier.... [Prunskiene ends]

First Necessary Digression

[IZVESTIYA interpolation] A blockade has not only consequences, but also causes. However it is pointless now to try to elucidate who was more or less to blame for the impasse. It is quite obvious that the sorry total of 140 million rubles [R] of losses could have been less if all the people covered by the term "republic leadership" had heeded the opinion of the Lithuanian government. In May it proposed that the act be suspended. In its reports on the damage sustained as a result of the blockade, the Statistics Department was then working on R5-7 million in losses. However, the government's position was countered by a powerful propaganda campaign rhyming moratorium with crematorium and regarding sober opinions as betrayal of the idea of independence. The standard of living dropped day by day and the people's elected parliamentary representatives reveled in their own uncompromising attitude: We will not back down, we will conquer, the whole world is behind us.... The further it went, the more obvious it became who were the losers and who stood to gain from the blockade. Militia reports of the time abound with reports of speculation in gasoline and consumer goods. Black market prices soared to unprecedented heights and, regrettably, have not fallen since. Commercial sales of essential commodities effectively legalized three- and five-fold price hikes, and 10-fold hikes for stylish goods. The "moneybags," the new mafiosi, became the masters, and they have also become a dangerous force interested in destabilization and chaos.

[Interview resumes] [IZVESTIYA] Mrs. Prime Minister, the trade and economic agreement signed with Russia guarantees supplies of fuel and energy resources to Lithuania, which is in itself a boon. A double boon at Union rather than world prices. But this economic document also has a political complexion. By receiving these goods, you retain definite commitments to the Union, so are you still a part of the country's economic and political structure?

[Prunskiene] Our agreement contains a special point stipulating that this agreement cannot be interpreted as participation in unions, communities of states, and so on. That is, our signature does not mean that we are automatically part of the new union that is shaping up around the RSFSR. Under the agreement we have to clarify many points, including prices.

Russia accounts for 52 percent of our external ties. It is our main customer for food. We will do our utmost to develop our ties with it. In particular, options are being studied for setting up joint processing enterprises in the republic, for us to engage in intermediary activity between Russia and Germany, and other forms.... It is also quite obvious that the Russian Federation is beginning to play an important role in the renewal of the Union. It is taking over the center's competence on many economic questions. In direct response to my question Russian Premier I. Silayev said that the republic will itself dispose of oil, gas, coal, and other raw material resources without delegating this right to the USSR Government. The gravity of the dialogue between Russia and the center places it at the center of political life.

But I think that it is important to distinguish here between things that depend on Russia and those that depend on the USSR Government. Our main question—the question of state independence—must be settled at talks with the Soviet leadership.

[IZVESTIYA] Permit us to ask a blunt question: How do you see the prospect of consolidating your avowed independence? How and when may this occur?

[Prunskiene] This depends in many respects on us ourselves, not only on the center. It depends on the package of proposals and the mood that we take to the talks. I think that the main issues can be settled this year. That is, determine the Soviet Army's status in Lithuania and secure an accord transferring to us the functions of guarding our borders. Although the troop withdrawal and the definitive solution of the border question could, in my view, occur within three years, it would not be before the Soviet Army's withdrawal from more westerly states. I think the Lithuanian question should be seen in the context of the consequences of World War II. I set out this viewpoint at a joint session of the two councils—the Presidential Council and the Federation Council—and it was heard out attentively.

The rapid development of events is a characteristic sign of the times. The world is changing before our eyes. In this connection the question of the Army and the borders only seems "seditious" at first glance. The borders are guarded today not so much for military as for economic considerations, owing to our poverty—a weak economy, poor goods, an unconvertible ruble, and so on.

[IZVESTIYA] Have you got proposals ready for the talks with the USSR?

[Prunskiene] Yes, the government has its position.

[IZVESTIYA] Does it coincide with the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet's position?

[Prunskiene] It does in terms of aims. But there are differences in terms of our approaches to the talks. I do not think that such slow (particularly in view of the economic situation) progress toward the talks themselves is very effective. Protracted uncertainty gives rise to mistrust and lack of confidence in the future. However much we discuss the status of the army or the borders at home, there will be no change in this status until we come to the negotiating table. The resolution of a whole series of tripartite and bipartite agreements depends on our political status.

Present-day realities are such that the Soviet Union is the agent in international relations. It is only through talks with the Soviet Union that we can obtain free access to the international arena. There is no point in getting carried away by the political games between other entities, in particular between the USSR and Russia; the leaders of these sides will always find a common language, this is happening before our eyes.

As for dates, I am not particularly keen on predicting dates. My former predictions did not come to pass although I do not think that there is any reason for dragging out the talks. They could take place within a month at most.

Second Necessary Digression

[IZVESTIYA interpolation] There is more in what the prime minister left unsaid than in what she said. Every inhabitant of the republic knows what was left unsaid—overt attacks on the government, accusations against Prime Minister K. Prunskiene of virtually a secret deal with the Kremlin and of backing down on the idea of independence—that is what newspapers and the man in the street are saying. Why?

Some Lithuanian parliamentarians who were swept into the Supreme Soviet on the fast-moving currents of rally-induced passions—those who took advantage of Sajudis' prestige rather than working selflessly for its good—specialize in "pure criticism" and the hunt for "apostates." They displayed a kind of Bolshevism blinded by hatred for dissent that pins labels on and curses people, compromising the very idea of independence and sovereignty.

Prime Minister K. Prunskiene came under particularly direct fire—during one interview, asked whether she is conscious of attempts to oust her, she said that only someone insensitive could fail to be conscious of this. Anonymous threats, blackmail, and slander are the usual "trappings" of those interested in destabilization, who have nothing to gain from a sober assessment of the situation, and who think that they have been done out of their fair share of portfolios and posts. The dogged attempt to remove the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the head of the executive, from the official talks with the Soviet Union is a characteristic detail of this process.

[Interview resumes] [Prunskiene] Parliament and the government should not only supplement but also criticize one another. The criticism must be sound and constructive. Few find it pleasurable but we cannot do without it. What do I consider important? The people today are perfectly well able to distinguish criticism from faultfinding, and they back us.

This is extremely important for us in today's situation.

[IZVESTIYA] Your well-known world trip gives us the right to touch on the international aspect of the Lithuanian situation. Allow us to quote THE WASHINGTON POST, in which E. Shevardnadze paid you a compliment. He told U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker this: "The Soviet leadership understands the reasons for U.S. officials' wanting to establish contact with forces opposing Gorbachev." Shevardnadze praised the new generation of leaders, particularly singling out Lithuanian Prime Minister Prunskiene as an example. What has changed since your visit to the United States?

[Prunskiene] Thank you for the kind words. Following my trip and summit meetings with the leaders of the leading countries of the world, I think that the opinion that the new Lithuanian leadership is in opposition to Gorbachev has changed. My stance was presented as follows: It is not a fight against Gorbachev that is under way in Lithuania, but the restoration of a state. We disagree on the details, but are united on the main thing—the creation of a democratic state or, more precisely, states. I think that Gorbachev's approaches to Lithuania and his opinions also changed after this. We gained our former mutual understanding with him.

[IZVESTIYA] That is, a common language has been found and Washington is "guilty" of this?

[Prunskiene] It was achieved with Washington's participation. But we ourselves—the Soviet Union and Lithuania—were the main protagonists. Russia too has now joined in this dialogue.

[IZVESTIYA] What do you expect of the West?

[Prunskiene] Support. The Lithuania problem must be resolved, like the problems of the entire Baltic. Of course, we need economic aid too. I am referring to building normal relations with the world, a mutually beneficial partnership. We do not want to be poor supplicants or exist on charity. We can earn ourselves a normal life.

[IZVESTIYA] Your Council of Ministers apparatus has been renewed, if it is not entirely new. Has anything changed in the style and methods used in organizing the work of the apparatus?

[Prunskiene] Things are changing.... For instance, following the election of the chairman and deputies, we introduced the tradition of daily general meetings between government members over lunch. We are trying to minimize the distance between the leadership and the Council of Ministers apparatus. But the apparatus is not only largely new, but also inexperienced. This is our sore point, a great deal of time, mine included, is being wasted unproductively. Following my trips abroad I sometimes have to write letters myself and then take care to ensure the accuracy of the translation.... In short, we are very far from achieving the degree of organization in the work of the apparatus inherent in (I saw this) Mrs. Margaret Thatcher's apparatus....

[IZVESTIYA] She is often described as the "Iron Lady," and takes these words as a compliment. What about you?

[Prunskiene] I would say that this definition is not for me. I need to be more flexible now or to combine flexibility and firmness. If I were an "iron" lady, I would have broken already... The complexity of the tasks facing Lithuania demands a firm—but not an iron—hand.

[IZVESTIYA] Let us once again set these tasks alongside your words about the rapidly changing world. Perhaps the source of your desire to secede from the USSR will have vanished in a few years when the questions you consider of paramount importance today have been resolved? A host of reasons have, after all, already disappeared, and the world is indeed changing rapidly....

[Prunskiene] If the situation develops in that way, the following question can be raised: What is preventing the Union and the world community from recognizing Lithuanian independence immediately? Everything is changing, after all, and will it not be recognized in three or five years anyway? An open Europe will include an open Lithuania and an open Russia. The idea of Lithuanian independence has ripened over the decades. I think that renouncing it would provoke deep disappointment and would destabilize social tranquillity. While trusting in the good intentions of and changes in our partners and neighbors, we nonetheless want the feeble shoot of our independence to grow stronger. It is risky to test it in conditions of new interstate formations. I repeat once again that Lithuania will stay where it is. It wants to be a democratic European state, performing its geopolitical mission in the center of Europe in conjunction with its good neighbors.

Dispute Noted Over Klaipeda Lenin Monument

LD2208224690 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] The presidium of the Klaipeda council has adopted a decision to remove the monuments at Lenino Aikste and Pergales Aikste. The monuments to Lenin and other revolutionary leaders have already been dismantled in Kaunas, Siauliai, and Panevezys.

Unfortunately, the decision of the Klaipeda council has been received with an act of resistance. Some 300 people, having gathered in an unsanctioned meeting at the town council, entered the office of the deputy mayor and handed written statements to the council demanding that the decision be cancelled. Officers of the Soviet Army who joined them promised to protect the monuments.

This was not the end of passions in Klaipeda. At night paint was thrown over the memorial to those who perished in the Second World War. This act of vandalism is being investigated and criminal proceedings have started. Soldiers with armored vehicles are guarding the Lenin monument and the monument cannon.

At noon a picket was organized by the Klaipeda town committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, the USSR citizens' defense committee [words indistinct]. It has been announced that the decision to remove the monuments remains in force until the next session of the council. Representatives of all movements have been invited to attend the session. Attempts will be made to find the best solution.

Lithuania's Post-Blockade Budget Crunch Viewed

90UN2583A Vilnius LETUVOS RITAS in Russian 23-28 Jul 90 pp 1, 4

[Article by B. Vainauskiene: "The Daily Price of Independence"]

[Text] **The blockade has inflicted damage on Lithuania's budget. It is estimated at 124.4 rubles [R]. Costs to run the supreme power of the republic rose by R9 million this year. How and on what is the money being spent?**

We wrote (in LETUVOS RITAS No. 102) that a plan has been prepared to join the building of the Supreme

Council with the new housing for the deputies—the former Ministry of Finance—with a glass passageway and that there are plans to build a two-story garage near Eygulyu Street for 50 new Volgas (10 of the automobiles will be in closed, guarded bays). There will also be warehouses of spare parts, electrical appliances, sanitary engineering equipment, metal, furniture, etc. as well as a printing house.

What has induced us to return to this theme?

While answering questions on television, Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council, only mentioned the passageway, which, according to him, is necessary for the comfort of the deputies.

The state budget came up R124.4 million short as a result of the blockade. Who will cover the losses—Moscow or us? At the moment the prospects are unclear. The government has decided to normalize finances by reducing allocations to culture, education, science, art, public health, and several other social needs.

It was planned to spend R470 million in 1990 to finance the social sphere and culture (this does not include the demands of physical training and social security). Of this R51 will not be allotted. The system of education—higher educational institutions, institutions of culture and education, television, and radio—will not receive about R38 million (of R304.06 million) from the republic's budget. Financing of science will be reduced by more than R1 million. Allocations for public health have been reduced by R12 million (R122 million have been designated). This is still not the final data inasmuch as the blockade continues in part and the budget is not receiving the planned income.

R. Sikorskis, minister of finance, said that if allocations from the state budget are not reduced, there will be nothing to pay wages with by the end of November or by December. According to R. Sikorskis, the financial limitations of the budgetary institutions should not affect vital needs because expenditures have been reduced for offices and management, trips, investment, planning, laying of roads and their repair and maintenance, etc. Expenditures have also been reduced for purchases of inventory and equipment and for major repairs on buildings.

Gediminas Chernyauskas, head of the economics administration of the Ministry of Public Health, is still hoping for even a portion of the lost R12 million. Because of that loss it will be impossible to repair hospitals, outpatient clinics, and other buildings. Such work usually takes place in the summer, and as a result the absence of this money is already taking its toll. It means that hospital roofs will continue to leak.... Expenses for management needs have been reduced by 30 percent. The existing money will not be enough to pay for water, heating, and the sewer system because the price of all these things has risen by a factor of three. What should be done—take it from the wages, or request that the patients pay it themselves? Medical equipment which the hospitals, outpatient clinics, and sanitary-epidemiological stations are not able to purchase is accumulating in warehouses.

According to official data, costs for the government rose in 1990 approximately R21 million, and for the supreme legislative and executive power they rose by R9 million. In 1989 the cost of maintaining the administrative apparat cost R54 million. In 1990 R75 million are allotted, of which R34 million are for maintenance of local government (in 1989 it was R22 million).

R. Sikorskis states that it was already clear six months ago that the new parliament will be a professional one. Although there are now almost half as many deputies, their wages have grown significantly. Additional funds are also needed for reorganization of the structures of supreme and executive power and the ministries. Money is being spent on hotels and apartments for visiting deputies, trips home, and for meetings with voters. In addition, the old building of the Supreme Council was built for appearances rather than work. The deputies need new offices. The Ministry of Finance has surrendered its building, and now money only needs to be allotted for the move. It seems as though the expenses enumerated by the minister are necessary. But what could the new garages and warehouses mean?

Romualdas Sikorskis said that the minister of finance does not have the right to interfere with the details of state expenditure estimates. That is the duty of the state inspector.

The R475,000 allotted for publications of LETUVOS AYDAS can be added to the supplementary expenses. In a democratic society the press watches over the interests of democracy and at times awakens the slumbering conscience of the powers that be. The Supreme Council and the government have the right to have their own press for publication of state documents. And they have had one—VALSTIBES ZHINES, an informational bulletin. A governmental newspaper in a democratic state is money thrown to the wind. And not just two or three rubles, but nearly half a million. That kind of money does not fall from the sky.

This is money which has been diverted from public health, science, or education. The guarded garages and warehouses, the purpose of which is unclear, are planned and built at someone's expense.

We know about the financial difficulties and we know that the blockade was and is still being felt and that today's shortage of money in the budget is the cost of independence. But we do not wish to pay for the foibles and rash actions of the parliament and the government. Perhaps we can apportion the burden more humanely.

Russian Emigration to Lithuania Detailed

90UN2625B Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian
1 Aug 90 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Are Russians Emigrating to Lithuania?"]

[Text] Lately much has been written in both the Soviet press (KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA) and in the foreign press (RZECZPOLITA) about Russians emigrating to Lithuania.

"They emigrate for various reasons," comments the Polish newspaper. "Some do so that their children may live in a civilized portion of Europe and under better ecological conditions. For others, Lithuania is a springboard for West Europe. It is interesting to note that for the most part the people emigrating are middle-aged or elderly, those who do not have time to wait for the results of perestroyka."

Is this true? An ELTA correspondent asked this question of Maria Karaliene, chief of the population statistics section of the department of statistics:

"Both yes and no," she said. "For the first time since 1958, we have a negative balance for the end of the first six months of this year for the migration of the population. In the first half of 1989 8,072 people arrived in Lithuania, and for that same period of this year—5,776. For that same period, 7,243 and 8,638 people, respectively, departed—2,862 people more. This year 2,458 Russians, 1,535 Lithuanians, and 416 Belorussians came to the republic. For the most part they leave to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], Belorussia, and the Ukraine."

Lithuania's Polish Autonomy Problem Outlined

90UN2583B Vilnius LETUVOS RITAS in Russian
23-28 Jul 90 p 2

[Article by A. Yuozaytis: "Will We Keep Eastern Lithuania?"]

[Text] Do we understand eastern Lithuania, that region that has been ruined and living in poverty for centuries? The people that are here have been speaking three languages only for the last 100 years. Even at the end of this century their spirit still has not taken on a firm substance and form. It is a spirit that is restless, confused, and at times embittered. And this is fully understandable—over the past 100 years the future has been no more desired by the people of eastern Lithuania than the present.

If someone believes that we will resolve the problem of eastern Lithuania in the near future, he is mistaken. It will take many, many years to heal the open wound....

However today we have found ourselves at a crossroads: With the disruption of the old order and the restoration of the state, the wound has begun to ache as never before. Of the 100 deputies of the Vilnyusskiy Rayon local government, 55 are members of the CPSU. Of the 50 deputies of Shalchininkskiyy Rayon, 47 are members of the CPSU. And this is all after the elections which took place in accordance with Republic of Lithuania laws. On 1 June in Shalchininkay at a congress of the deputies of the Vilnius region, a declaration was announced concerning the need to create a unified Polish territorial-administrative unit with special status. A reservation for the Polish inhabitants of five rayons. The line will run along the trenches of Zeligowski's army in 1920. A letter has been sent to the president of the USSR in Moscow: We wish to be in both the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. And this has been done by people who already live in the Republic of Lithuania. In a normal country this would be considered betrayal of the homeland.

The mystical idea of a Polish autonomy of the 1989 type is not something which may be ignored. The present law on Lithuania's local governments offers great opportunities. However an autonomy, especially beginning with a capital letter, is a call to arms which is understood, without hesitation or second thought, as "on principle."

Such an approach is not primarily a matter of world view; it is a matter of interests and ambitions. It is not surprising that paid atheists and Catholics are both under the same roof.

That portion of the residents of the Vilnius region which for decades has squandered its own national heritage would now like to blame the few remaining Lithuanian schools and the "Lithuanian power" in Vilnius for everything. Squeezed for decades by its own "ethnic party apparat," today's local and economic power talks about ethnic oppression and discrimination. Whoever says that this is serious politics is mistaken. This is psychological warfare, a wish to benefit goodness knows whom, because it does not benefit one's own people.

The Vilnius region is increasingly trying to pull away from Lithuania. The avalanche of demands continually arriving in Vilnius, Warsaw, and Moscow creates the impression of general dissatisfaction. It is partially true. The anxiety of the local residents is the connecting link of this campaign. Once it reaches a certain heat, the anti-Lithuania talk becomes fact: Lithuanians are fired from work and driven out of towns and the region.

Today in Vilenshchina you see the coat of arms, flag, and the text of the hymn of Poland on the walls of many of the schools. The coat of arms or the hymn of Lithuania is a rarity. The children are more often shown the prewar map of Poland than of Lithuania. And so on.

World practice shows that separatist movements rarely reveal their final goals until they have gained strength. The creation of a Polish territorial-administrative unit is absolutely necessary to those who know what they want. Fighters from Quebec, Catalonia, Northern Ireland, and other "hot spots" always have in their arsenal not only the demand for autonomy but also a general plan for seceding from the state to whom these demands are being made. For the time being they hold it in reserve. I will not be surprised if we are soon acquainted with plans of just such a character.

The first statements about secession have already been made. The leaders of the Vilnyusskiy Rayon local government (members of the CPSU) wish to take part in negotiations between Lithuania and the USSR. But no one knows whose side they will take. Perhaps they will participate as a third party.

Who is to blame for all of this? Life.

But not just life. Forty years of "Lithuanian inactivity" have not passed by without result—the fruits of the harm are abundant. Even after the war when we received a portion of the Polish region that had been seized, we looked upon it as upon something alien. Indeed, many tried to make it alien to Lithuania, and they were successful. But they succeeded thanks to our fear.

What should we do? I believe that we can do much. The important thing is to begin.

First, we need Poland to recognize the act of the occupation of the capital of Lithuania and its surroundings in 1920. Without that we can hardly hope for firm and stable diplomatic relations with Poland.

Second, we need to recognize the Polish language as a part of the historical and cultural heritage of Lithuania and teach it in Lithuanian schools. Only in this manner can each of us personally feel our proximity to eastern Lithuania.

Third, we must encourage in every possible way the spiritual growth of the people who consider themselves Poles. Their ties with the culture and life of Poland must be considered a possession of the Lithuanian state and one of the conditions of progress.

These are things that need to be done. Misfortune and pain have overtaken a territory that no longer has a state to defend it.

Latvia's Godmanis Discusses Ties With Republics

LD2208210190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1710 GMT 22 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga August 22 TASS—The process of transferring state property to other owners, which has been launched in the country and the development of direct ties between republics are inspiring optimism, Latvian Prime Minister Ivar Godmanis told a news conference here today.

He praised a program being worked out by the group set up by President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian parliament Chairman Boris Yeltsin to prepare a blueprint for the transition to a market economy as the basis of a new Union treaty.

Godmanis believes that the blueprint being prepared by the group "makes it possible to create an economic alliance of sovereign states, which would not set any political conditions to partners."

Working groups are now drafting agreements with the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Central Asian republics, and Kazakhstan, Godmanis said.

"Only by allowing everyone to act independently, is it possible to count on drawing closer together," he said. "If such a union, in which the ruble will be retained as the means of settling accounts, come into being, the republic's intention of introducing its own currency will become more controversial than it was. So there will have to be more discussion about the Latvian Lata," the head of the Latvian government said.

Stressing the need to earn hard currency by all possible means, Ivars Godmanis suggested the establishment of a coordination council made up of representatives of the different republics. It would be empowered to settle licensing questions, because the present arrangement are retarding external economic activity. "Because of the shortage of hard currency", Ivars Godmanis said, "we must also revise the structure of light industry manufacturing, which is 30 percent reliant on imported raw material. We should strive to reduce this dependence on imports".

The Latvian prime minister expressed special concern about the state of affairs in the countryside. The development of farming in the republic has led to a situation in which local leaders find themselves caught between a rock and a hard place: collective agriculture on the one hand and farming on the other. If everything is redistributed among farmers, who will look after social needs? After all, it is collective farms which are responsible for paying pensions at the moment. There are also quite a few problems with those who demand that they be given back the land they used to own at some time in the past. "Many have forgotten that in 1940 they took their plots on credit. Debts owed to the state had still not been paid off. Therefore, we will establish once and for all who owes what to whom", Ivars Godmanis said.

Latvia Protests Paramilitary Organization Revival

PM2108101190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Aug 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report under the rubric "After the Event": "Guerrillas Needed"]

[Text] The reconstitution in Latvia of the militarized organization of aizsargi (guards) arouses concern and a negative response in a section of the population. This is stated in an address by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau to the government and the Supreme Soviet published in the republic press.

The aizsargi were the only military-political organization in bourgeois Latvia whose activity was officially resumed during the fascist occupation. After the war the majority of members who failed to flee abroad joined numerous bandit groups. For several years they waged an armed struggle against Soviet power and terrorized the local population.

In this connection, the address emphasizes, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau deems it necessary to declare that the steps now being taken to reconstitute the militarized organization are of an unconstitutional nature and run counter to the purport of the USSR presidential decree "On the Prohibition of the Creation of Armed Formations Not Envisaged in USSR Legislation and the Confiscation of Weapons in Cases of Their Illegal Storage."

The actions to revive an organization with profascist traditions, the document states, destabilize the already complex sociopolitical situation in the republic. "Recalling the political past of the aizsargi, it is possible to make only an unequivocal assessment of the purpose of such an organized force—it is to crush the opposition, primarily communists and other supporters of the socialist orientation in the republic." If you take the position of a detached observer, the government and Supreme Soviet of Latvia will have to assume "complete responsibility for the possible serious consequences."

Russophone Deputies Protest Estonian Delegation

LD2208212890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] The Estonian Supreme Soviet has confirmed the composition of the delegation for holding talks with the USSR and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. The group of Russian-speaking deputies does not agree with the composition of the delegation. An address adopted by them says, in particular:

The fact that deputies who represent the interests of 40 percent of the republic's population have been left out of the delegation urges us to appeal to the Supreme Soviets of the RSFSR and other Union republics to hold talks with Estonia only with the obligatory participation of the representatives of the Russian-speaking population. Equal representation of various population groups should create reliable guarantees that the agreements reached will objectively reflect the interests of all of Estonia's people.

USSR-Estonian Talks Begin in Moscow 23 Aug

LD2308110890 Moscow TASS in English 1035 GMT 23 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Official talks on relations between the the USSR and Estonia began here today.

The two delegations, led by Nikolay Gritsenko, chairman of the Soviet parliament's commission for labour, prices and social policy, and Ulo Nugis, vice chairman of the Estonian parliament, outlined a wide range of issues to be discussed at the negotiations.

It was agreed that in September and October the delegations will meet on a weekly basis. The final documents will be submitted for consideration by the USSR Presidential Council in late October.

Estonian Premier Savisaar Gives News Conference

LD2208120790

[Editorial Report] Tallin Estonian Television Network in Estonian at 1700 GMT 16 August broadcasts a one-hour live or recorded news conference by Estonian Premier Edgar Savisaar in Tallin. An announcer states, at 1700 GMT, that 15 August marked the 100th day since the founding of the new Estonian government, while Savisaar was appointed before that date. Therefore, the announcer says, it is now possible to question the work of the government.

Ralf Amos of ETA asks a question about Gorbachev's recent statement on Estonia. Savisaar answers that this Gorbachev statement differs from the previous ones because, for the first time, the Estonian Supreme Soviet is not recognized.

"And now", Savisaar says, "the question arises that if the Kremlin no longer recognizes the Supreme Soviet, then who will it then recognize? What will then be its next step? And, it seems to me, that this next step has already been taken, that indeed the Integral—a sort of parallel power—is being recognized."

Savisaar adds that this Gorbachev statement deals unequivocally with the events of 1940, and says: "Namely, we were earlier surprised about why it was that last year the USSR Supreme Soviet included on its agenda a discussion of the Estonian—Baltic—resolutions, but later did not do so. Why was it that it did not? It seems to me that it now has become clear, that is, the Union has adopted the stance that the illegal marriage is legal. It is not legal to us; it continues to be illegal. It is quite another matter to argue about the property which has been jointly acquired during the marriage. How much of it remains with whom?

"Then, of course, it also contains a warning that no talks are wanted with us, and it is questionable if they ever have been particularly desirable. It seems to me, too, that this is not aimed as much at the Estonians as it is at the Russians here, and the two Communist Parties, because the imperial power is beginning to lose ground with the Russian-Speaking population here. This is precisely the goal to keep them well in hand. This is exactly the same action as today's announcement about the voice of the Inter-Movement starting its broadcasts. I would not be at all surprised if, for example, television stations were erected at the Dvigatel and that in September those will be beaming to Lasnamae [residential area in Tallinn where, according to popular belief, mostly Russians live] because it is now indeed an issue of life [and death] for the conservative forces to keep the Russian-speaking population well in hand, because as long as the Russian-speaking population here is either neutral or on the side of the conservatives, the Kremlin will not need to start talks with us. That is what is being hoped for."

Economist Valve Kirsipuu asks about the privatization of property, which has caused confusion and fear about its fairness, she says.

Savisaar answers, and refers first to the reasons the new legislation was frozen almost as soon as it was adopted this summer. It was he says, like the case of a building being sold to a foreign country by a ministry. The government has now worked out proposals according to which small businesses—hairdressers, coffee shops, etc.—will be privatized beginning in October, with privatization on a larger scale beginning in january, depending on how quickly the Supreme Soviet endorses the plans. Savisaar says that a new state property board is envisaged to carry out the actual privatization. This new body will report to the government. To ensure fairness, a privatization commission which will actually carry out any evaluations will be subordinate to the Supreme Soviet.

A journalist from the independent EESTI EKSPRESS [ESTONIAN EXPRESS] newspaper asks about pro-Estonian industry which, because of the latest legislation may also end up joining the Integral.

Savisaar replies that he can see no reason why the resolution on state enterprise should be taken too seriously, since only certain very large industries, such as transportation complexes, aviation, perhaps, will fall under this heading, but what is important is that all enterprises will now have ample time to decide in what form they wish to see themselves in the future. He says: "At present, we can already see that each of these is judging itself. Can it go out to the Western market or not? If it cannot, then it knows what it is that ties it to the Eastern market. And should it feel that it is indeed strongly tied to the Eastern market, then this will make it much more moderate politically, and will make it think how to keep up Eastern relations in any case."

A PAEVALEHT [daily newspaper] journalist next asks about the new Estonian currency which is due to appear by Christmas. Savisaar recalls a Supreme Soviet session in July which adopted a resolution on changing to Estonia's own currency and concluded that it is unrealistic to change by Christmas since much practical work needs to be done by the Estonian Bank, and that even the political conditions are unfavorable. Savisaar illustrates the point by saying that the boat carrying the newly minted currency could be detained by USSR border guards in Tallinn harbor, and that there is nothing anyone could do about it. He adds that governmental working groups have recently been set up, and that there will be a prime ministerial banking councillor in office, an official of the Svenska Handelsbanken in Stockholm. Savisaar concludes that, "if you ask for my opinion, then at the moment the situation is such that there is a strong need for three kinds of borders: a physical border, a customs border and a currency border. For this reason, indeed, we will do everything possible so this work can indeed be completed, but it would be very irresponsible to specify dates here because these do not depend solely on technical and organizational events but, first and foremost, on how we are able to change political conditions."

Ralf Amos of ETA asks, referring to a recent talk he had with Boris Yeltsin about privileges: "Where and what do you eat, how do you get clothes, which shop, which doctor, do you visit, and altogether, which privileges do you use as chairman of the government, compared with an ordinary mortal?"

Savisaar answers: "I have been chairman of the government for so little time that I must say that perhaps I don't even know all the privileges a chairman of the government enjoys. But let me clear the slate. Let us begin with the fact that the government chairman's salary is 900 rubles [R]. That is roughly the same as district elders and mayors get. That is R600 less, for example, than the chairman of ETKVL [Estonian Union of Consumer Societies] gets, and it is considerably less than the leaders of quite a few of our enterprises and firms get. I have lived in Lasnamae, in Paul Pinna Street, in a three-room apartment, since 1980. We have a nice set-up there: Mayor Aasmae has a two-room apartment a couple of blocks from me, and Health Minister Ellamaa lives on the other side. We have our own community and we see each other socially.

Apart from that I have an official summer home at Keila-Joa, like Supreme Soviet commission chairmen and ministers, that is, those who have no personal summer homes of their own. This will be at my disposal as long as I am in this job. Its rent is about four to five times higher than the rent for my apartment.

"Then, Toompea [seat of government] here has its own shop; it is a branch of the Marja Street shop. Well, it is comparable, say, when I was working at the Mainor, from time to time I visited the Marat's [garment factory] staff shop—well, it is about at the same level, at least as it was in the mid-1980s when I used to go there. Then, as a USSR people's deputy I have the right to travel free on USSR territory. Then, I am entitled to 24 days of leave which I have not yet been able to take, but evidently I am an incompetent civil servant in that regard."

Savisaar continues: "I would not say that I am now in some kind of—that I have some kind of privileges. One might ask: why keep such a job, right? Well, there are two aspects to this". He adds that one aspect is how these jobs were held previously. "The other aspect," he says, "is that if a question of this kind is being asked at all, then it means that we consider welfare as being of the utmost importance. In that sense, of course, there would be no point in holding this job, but I don't think that in the present government persona' welfare is that highly rated."

Economist Valve Kirsipuu next asks about the individual income tax law, whose draft was put out for public debate on 12 July. She says she is worried that since this tax goes into local budgets, certain areas of Estonia will do better than others, and this may be unfair.

Savisaar replies that the public debate brought in about 150 proposals and amendments. He says this particular draft law is democratic because the rates proposed are progressive, he says the draft envisages taxation based on the fact that everybody previously paid a standard 13 percent. Most people, about 75 percent will pay less, and that the first R100 earned will be tax free. Another category of the population, 24.5 percent, will pay more. They are the people whose income is from R400 to 1,100, and they will pay tax at 24 percent, he says. A third category, those who earn more than R1,100, will pay tax at 33 percent. "So we can say that a quarter [of the people] are undoubtedly against this and dissatisfied. But three-quarters are satisfied and they are also quiet because they are evidently, well, agreeable to those taxes."

Savisaar says that the Baltiyets factory has sent a letter saying that the average earnings there are R423, and since they fall into the second group of taxpayers, they oppose the law.

Savisaar also points out the top tax rate, compared to the 60 percent being proposed in the USSR, should encourage an enterprising spirit. "So that we in fact made an attempt here to create favorable conditions for the enterprising spirit, as well as to ensure that tax rates would be democratic." Unlike the USSR proposals, the Estonian law will take into account all earnings, not only the salary, but any income from stocks, etc. "And if we do not take this into account in our income tax law, then it will not at all be facing the future," he says.

An exchange then develops between Kirsipuu and Savisaar on the subject of fairness if certain local councils amass great amounts of money from taxes. Savisaar suggests that those areas like Tallinn, which will get the largest revenue will also spend much more.

A journalist from the EDASI newspaper next asks about price increases and subsidies. Savisaar says that, yes, it is the government's plan to drop subsidies on milk and meat products beginning 1 October while any flour products, bread, buns, cakes, etc., will retain their state subsidy and their prices will remain the same, at least for the rest of the year, if not longer. The government's subsidy proposal will soon be put out for public discussion, Savisaar concludes.

Estonians To Hold Border Rally 23 Aug

LD2208125590 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 0900 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Excerpts] A rally on Toompea [seat of government] is planned for tomorrow.

More from Georg Pelisaar:

[Pelisaar] The border commission organized by the Estonian committee meets in Tartu every Wednesday. Commission member (Juri Raidla), what does the commission do?

[(Raidla)] We, members of the Petserimaa [area along the southeastern border] committee, decided to organize a border commission to rally the people behind and around Narva to clarify what indeed will be done: Will Estonia retain the borders of the previous Republic of Estonia? Or will the present Estonian SSR borders be recognized? We are not clear on the matter, which is why we set up a border commission. [passage omitted]

If there's little concern over whether tiny nations die, then I think the Estonian nation will not stay around for long. Should the previous borders now be restored, then I believe the Estonians would return again. [passage omitted]

If the borders are not restored, then essentially it is a continuation of a policy to destroy people. This has been carried out not only in our area but all across the USSR; indigenous populations, who adapt to living conditions in their respective regions the best, are replaced by outsiders who do not adapt as well to those areas. This is simply a policy to destroy life, and if the Supreme Soviet of the republic of Estonia does not pay any attention to this, it will thus pursue the same policy which has been followed in the USSR for 70 years. [passage omitted]

Tomorrow, we indeed want to go up to Toompea to demonstrate that we exist, and I would like to ask all the people of Estonia, because this not the problem for us, Setus, but it is the issue of retaining the unity of all Estonia, to turn up to support and to demonstrate that the people want to retain the state of Estonia and that they do not wish Setumaa to somehow be excluded, or in other words, would be amputated from Estonia. [passage omitted]

RSFSR

Coverage Continues on Yeltsin's Russian Tour

Visit to Far East Reported

PM2208133590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by special correspondent A. Ryabov: "Maritime Meetings"]

[Text] Maritime Kray—The tour of Russia by B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, continues. The venue for the head of the Russian parliament's latest meetings was the Far East. The familiarization with this large and rich region started with Maritime Kray, where B.N. Yeltsin arrived Sunday.

Vladivostok—the largest Far Eastern industrial, cultural, and scientific center—is beautiful and hospitable. But not for nothing is it said that the larger a city is, the more problems it has. Unfortunately, isolation has not spared Vladivostok many of the problems that have recently befallen most Russian cities. New ills are being added to its chronic problems. The number of problems in the kray's other cities and settlements is growing too.

It is proposed that most of them will be solved as a result of the recent granting to Maritime Kray by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet of the status of a free economic enterprise zone. But, first, all the questions arising out of this should be thoroughly considered and all the possible options worked out. The businesslike and constructive nature of the cooperation between Maritime Kray and the Russian government and the extent to which Maritime Kray people become active and enterprising in relations with foreign partners and in realizing their own production potential is of decisive importance.

This was the subject of a lively discussion at the Monday meeting between the head of the republic's parliament and leaders and labor collectives at the Nakhodka intensive fisheries base, the port of Vostochnyy, and the Nakhodka city aktiv.

The meetings in Maritime Kray will be continued today.

Meets Maritime Kray Workers

PM2308082890 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by special correspondent A. Ryabov: "Concern About the Future—B.N. Yeltsin's Visit to Maritime Kray"]

[Text] Vladivostok—The program for the last day of the visit to Maritime Kray by B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, was packed. It began with a visit to Akademgorodok, home of the USSR Academy of Sciences Far Eastern Department. After acquainting himself with the work of the leading scientific research institutes of the Far East, he had a conversation with scientists about the problems and development prospects of Russian academy science. The head of the republic parliament stressed the need to merge it to a greater extent with higher education. It is time to put an end to their artificial separation, to return to the principles developed way back by M.V. Lomonosov. The quality of specialist training would gain immensely from this; a union of this kind is also essential for the influx of young talent into the academy's laboratories and scientific research institutes.

The study of opportunities for integration with foreign science should begin now and joint research and analysis should be planned, taking account of the opportunities offered by free enterprise zone status.

The Far Eastern scientists were instructed to present proposals as soon as possible to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on the principles for a revival of the Russian Academy of Science. So far its development does not promise great prospects for Russia's scientific thought.

In the afternoon, B.N. Yeltsin visited the labor collective of the famous Dalzavod Ship Repair Yard, where more than 8,000 people work. Free economic zone status and relations with foreign partners will significantly affect the state of affairs at the shipyard. But how much real improvement will there be? Will not free enterprise become a kind of "Trojan horse" in the eyes of ordinary people? These, and many other by no means straightforward questions have been heard for a long time now among shipfitters.

"More than enough problems have accumulated," worker V.S. Solodukha, a veteran of the enterprise, said, sharing his anxiety with me. "Indeed, beyond the entrance gate, life is becoming more and more difficult with every passing day. Power, it appears, is being seized by various kinds of cooperative workers, or even by speculators, but not at all by those whom we elected very recently to the local soviets. Surely this is not the 'humane' market thanks to which they are promising us they will raise living standards within a short space of time?"

Yes, many disputes arise today looking at the near future. A frank conversation about this took place in the afternoon at B.N. Yeltsin's meeting with the Maritime Kray aktiv, deputies of the USSR, the RSFSR, and the kray's local soviets, representatives of labor collectives and social organizations, and members of the kray miners' strike committee.

The chairman of the Russian parliament briefed those who attended the meeting on the work of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the tasks faced in forming a true sovereignty for Russia, announced the republic parliament's immediate plans regarding the transition to a market economy footing and the widening of local soviets' rights, and answered numerous questions.

After a brief press conference B.N. Yeltsin met leaders of the krays and oblasts of the Far Eastern region.

Rules Out Giving Up Kurils

LD2208131690 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] The head of parliament of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin, has said that his concept of a solution to the Kuril Island problem has not changed. It does not provide for giving them up. The environment there is excellent, making it possible to develop tourism. There are also opportunities for building factories for processing fish.

In the framework of his tour of the Russian Federation Mr. Yeltsin visited the island of Kunashir and gave an interview to correspondents of Soviet radio and the news agency INTERFAX. He reminded them of his ideas as to how resolve [as heard] the dispute over the Kuril Islands. It provides for several stages, whose completion will require 15-20 years. Then the time will come when a new generation of politicians will begin to govern the Soviet Union and Japan and they will reach a final solution to all disputes.

Interviewed on Plans for Kurils

LD2208173290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Interview with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, by Sergey Omelchenko, special correspondent, while on Kunashir Island in the Kurils on 22 August—recorded]

[Text] [Omelchenko] Boris Niklolayevich, have your ideas of the Kuril Islands changed somehow after visiting Kunashir?

[Yeltsin] Yes, they have changed. Well, I imagined here a fairly wild place, a sparse landscape, rocks, volcanoes, ill-suited for living. But in fact it is like a health resort. Tourism can be easily developed here. It is possible, relying on the Supreme Soviet's decision on a free economic zone, to organize tourist complexes. It is possible to organize some small enterprises for processing for fisheries.

[Omelchenko] Boris Nikolayevich, has your concept changed in any way?

[Yeltsin] My concept has not changed inasmuch it does not envisage any handover, etc. It provides for a rapprochement with the Japanese and for more many-sided interrelations. For this reason the four stages can be implemented easily.

[Omelchenko] Could you enumerate once more these four stages, please?

[Yeltsin] The first stage: recognizing that a problem exists. The second stage: an economic treaty between Russia and Japan, independent of this issue. The third stage: the appearance of a free economic zone, of free entrepreneurship, so as to somehow make possible a more vigorous development here.. And fourth: the demilitarization of the islands.

But already there is a fifth stage, some 20 years from now. Then, with new leaders in Japan and in our country, altogether nonstandard proposals may emerge. But people who live both in Kunashir and Shikotan, of course, need to be told (?above all) that that should settle and that they need not worry about their destiny.

[Omelchenko] Well, in my view, those with whom we managed to speak here on Kunashir, they share your point of view, your concept.

[Yeltsin] Yes, I could also see for myself that this region is to their liking. Now more and more people are already somehow striking deeper roots here, are building their houses, have their own private plots, that is to say, they already want this to be their permanent homes. That is a very good thing.

Arrives on Sakhalin 22 Aug

LD2208202290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Today, 22 August, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, who is on a trip around the republic, arrived in Sakhalin.

[Correspondent V. Feoktistov] Questions rained down on him at the steps of the plane, and among them, perhaps the sorest one for the inhabitants of the island kray: How can Sakhalin stop being a colony of the mainland and the center? [video shows Yeltsin coming down the steps of the plane in darkness to be greeted by waiting crowds of press and officials]

[Yeltsin] I understand, but that was well, so to speak, the imperial policy of over a hundred years. And, therefore, it has to be changed.

[Unidentified speaker off screen] How?

[Yeltsin] Give it the status of a free zone and of free enterprise, and then it will feel itself to be freer, and then it will develop more energetically and, most importantly, in a more balanced way, from the point of view of the solution of social questions. [video shows Yeltsin on an airfield in daylight shaking hands with airline staff and surrounded by officials; Yeltsin is seen boarding the aircraft]

[Feoktistov] This morning, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin flew to the Kuril Islands. On the program of that stage of the trip is a visit to Kunashir, Shikotan, Iturup, and the islands of the small Kuril ridge which altogether, in Japanese terminology, are called the northern territories.

RSFSR Party Central Committee Meeting Noted

PM2208145790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Aug 90 Second Edition pp 1, 3

[Report by A. Gamov, V. Pinigin: "On the Eve of the Second Stage. Notes from the Russian Communist Party Central Committee Sitting"]

[Text] First secretaries of CPSU obkoms [oblast party committees] and kraykoms [kray party committees], members of the party forum preparatory committee, and delegations from party organizations from which Central Committee members have yet to be elected (Moscow City, Leningrad, Kuybyshev, and Ulyanovsk Oblasts; and Taymyr, Nenetsk, and Evenki Autonomous Okrugs) were invited to attend the latest sitting of the Russian Communist Party's leadership organ together with members of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee elected at the first stage of the constituent congress.

Furthermore, representatives of different movements within the CPSU took part in its work: The Democratic Platform Communist Reformers' Section, the Marxist Platform in the CPSU, and the initiative movement for the Russian Communist Party's creation. This broad representation was perfectly justified: Questions concerning the completion of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee's formation were to be discussed and resolved. It was necessary to decide when the second stage of the congress would be held and its agenda, and to agree what documents should be adopted in addition to those already adopted at the first stage.

Speaking about when the second stage should be held, it is well known that there are two points of view on this matter and they were discussed in detail at the sitting: Some party committees and primary organizations insist on the congress being held immediately. They deem it necessary to convene it before the RSFSR and USSR Supreme Soviets and the republic's Congress of People's Deputies begin their sessions, and before the start of major events planned by various public organizations for September-October. For example, participants in the 10th Altay CPSU Kraykom Plenum, delegates to the 28th party congress and the RSFSR Communist Party Constituent Congress, write on behalf of the kray's Communists asking that the second stage of the congress should begin its work 25-26 August "with a view to the consolidation of forces in our society and for the sake of avoiding confrontation and political provocation." Communists from Moscow, Ryazan, and several other oblasts also advocate bringing the congress forward. But there are also different proposals: For example, that the second stage of the congress be postponed until October or even until December so as to prepare for it more thoroughly. Such a statement was specifically made by the club of party organization secretaries from Moscow's Baumanskiy Rayon. The debate at the sitting developed around these proposals.

Incidentally, as I.K. Polozkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, announced in his introductory speech, the position of Central Committee members on this issue had been canvassed in advance. The overwhelming majority are in favor of no postponement in convening the second stage of the congress.

The most persuasive point of view, I.K. Polozkov noted in particular, seems to be the one that any further delay as regards the organizational shaping of the party, its leadership organs, and its apparatus would be extremely disadvantageous for us. Furthermore, it might be dangerous. Because the situation in which the process of shaping the party is taking place is certainly not improving. The economic situation in the republic is not stabilizing. The forthcoming transition to the market and the passions that have flared up around it are increasing social tension. Add to this the interethnic relations which are getting more complex. We have still not determined our clear-cut attitude toward the aforementioned and many other equally acute problems.

In actual fact, the RSFSR Communist Party is already being accused of having been "artificially" created. At the same time, there is agitation aimed at squeezing party organizations out of enterprises and institutions, and intensive work is being done for the purpose of splitting them. Anticommunism is being whipped up. Malicious rumors and fabrications are circulating about the congress being invalid and the election of the first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee being unlawful. In essence, the Russian Communist Party Central Committee cannot offer a proper rebuff since it still lacks its own leadership nucleus and its own mass media. Some oblast and rayon structures have obviously surrendered their positions.

I.K. Polozkov shared his alarm caused by the trend of Communists' withdrawal from the party. According to data from the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, there were 162,750 people leaving the party's ranks in the RSFSR in July alone and—and this is especially worrying—90,000 of them were workers. The largest numbers of workers leaving the party were recorded by the Moscow City, Kemerovo and Rostov Oblast, and Krasnoyarsk Kray party organizations. I am therefore firmly convinced, Polozkov noted, that the congress must be completed in early September, holding it over three or four days.

The sitting participants mainly supported this point of view. The RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee members and the guests who spoke noted that it is necessary to step up preparations for the second stage of the congress and to have the draft basic documents due to be adopted by the forum of Russia's Communists discussed at party committees and primary organizations.

One of these basic documents is the RSFSR Communist Party Action Program, identifying the main avenues of activity by Russian Communists at the present complex and crucial stage of social development. The RSFSR Communist Party must firmly declare that it advocates the decisive reorganization of Russian society, the revival of its statehood, culture, and national traditions, the enhancement of people's prosperity, and the strengthening of the friendship and cooperation between peoples in the republic and the entire Soviet Union. The sitting participants were unanimous that the action program must include a list of major political measures stemming from the 28th CPSU Congress decisions and promoting the republic's advancement along the path of socialist renewal. Emphasis was placed on the need to formulate key guidelines for party organizations at all levels, which could be used to launch organizational, political, and ideological work.

A large group of members of the Central Committee and the preparatory committee, representatives of various platforms within the CPSU, and party officials and aktiv members worked on the draft program's elaboration. In the course of creative arguments they sought a common approach, proceeding from the interests of the party and of Russia's peoples.

This document's emergence was not a simple process. It was necessary not only to consider and appraise the situation prevailing in the country but also to define the economic, social, and political aims which Russian Communists must pursue and to map out the ways to attain them. The numerous proposals received by the Central Committee from constituent congress delegates, political scientists, party officials, and rank-and-file Communists had to be taken into account during the draft's elaboration. And the main point was to build into the program the most important trends in political thinking which have recently developed within the CPSU ranks.

This proved to be perhaps the most complex job. We all recall the dramatic development of events at the 28th congress—the statement by Democratic Platform leaders of their intention to leave the CPSU. In conditions whereby the Russian Communist Party, having hardly come into being, is subjected to mass criticism, it is understandable that confrontation between supporters of different political lines within it can produce nothing good. Therefore, as soon as the question of preparing the draft action program arose, the preparatory committee started seeking ways of cooperation. A meeting was held between Central Committee First Secretary I.K. Polozkov and representatives of the main streams—Communist reformers of the Democratic Platform within the CPSU, the Marxist Platform, and the Russian Communist Party initiative congress. Following the hours-long and at times rather heated conversation, it was decided to elaborate the RSFSR Communist Party's main document through joint efforts. Describing this at one of the sittings, I.P. Osadchiy, chairman of the Organizational Committee for Preparing and Holding the Congress, especially emphasized that, from the very beginning, it was not a question of several alternative drafts but of a single draft, created on the basis of mutual accord. But even this desire to find a compromise failed to prevent heated debates. There was simply a failure to find a common denominator on some questions of principle like, for example, the attitude toward market economy. Therefore, the draft action program incorporates insertions, being the alternative proposals or approaches by different platforms.

I am in favor, I.P. Osadchiy noted, of these supplementary passages remaining in the action program which the congress will approve. This will enshrine in documentary form the alternative options and minority opinions. Let life decide who is right.

The preparatory committee's activity graphically demonstrated that advancement and the elaboration of strategy and tactics which would suit every side are possible only via mutual concessions and the quest for accord, and not by resorting to confrontation.

In their speeches, representatives of all platforms and streams confirmed that the draft action program is the result of joint labor. At the same time, however, they pointed out its shortcomings—each one from his own position. In the opinion of Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V.S. Lipitskiy, representative of the Communist reformers section of the Democratic Platform within the CPSU, the section on socioeconomic policy has antimarket implications. Therefore, the Communist reformers insisted that their alternative version of the section be included in the draft. One of its points concerns the need for broad discussion of the different programs for transition to the market and their adoption via a nationwide referendum. Speaking of the importance of the second stage of the constituent congress, V.S. Lipitskiy noted that it is necessary to overcome the negative attitudes toward it, and one specific step in this regard could be to invite representatives of other political parties and social movements to the congress.

Making an objection to what his colleague said, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences M.V. Popov, representative of the Russian Communist Party Initiative Congress, said that the action program has not an antimarket but an anticapitalist orientation. In conditions whereby the CPSU is being criticized on the most important issues of society's development, it is necessary to start discussing the concept of socialism. What is the meaning of transition to a mixed economy—a retreat from socialism, as the NEP [New Economic Policy] was dubbed in the past, or an advance? What is the meaning of Soviet power—power by parliamentarians or power by the working people? But, in M.V. Popov's opinion, when coming out with our own concept of socialism, it is necessary to take certain specific steps so that everyone could see that Communists associate their life with the ordinary people. The Marxist Platform and the initiative congress proposed a discussion of the party maximum question—a ceiling on money incomes of CPSU members. Candidate of Economic Sciences A.A. Prigarin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and representative of the Marxist Platform, explained that Communists must make certain sacrifices in order to restore their prestige and secure the party against the emergence of new corrupt Communists in the market conditions.

The speeches by platform representatives and the heated arguments around a series of draft program provisions prompted a lively debate.

On the whole, however, the conversation which took place at the sitting extended well beyond the agenda's framework. Many speakers expressed worry because Communists' activeness is declining in places, some party committee leaders are in a state of confusion, and at times even real panic develops. The attention of those assembled was specifically drawn to this by R.T. Mironova, party committee secretary at the "Rossiya" Kolkhoz [Collective Farm] in Udmurt ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]. She recalled a recent occurrence: Speaking about the rayon party organization's revenues at a conference with primary party organization secretaries, the CPSU raykom first secretary let it be understood that, come the new year, secretaries will be looking for new jobs.

"Do we need such a mood today?" R.T. Mironova correctly remarked. "We must not lose heart."

"The majority of Communist workers are honest and conscientious people, standing on genuine party positions," M.I. Mashnin, drill operator at Uzlovaya's "Kran" Production Association in Tula Oblast, said in his speech. "But why do they often give in to sundry demagogues, whose flowery language actually conveys nothing? I think that today we are reaping the fruits of the decline of our political education system. The party and its leadership organs must focus their attention on this. After all, the working class is the mainstay of the CPSU, of the organizationally shaped detachment of Russian Communists. It would be a grave mistake to farm this mainstay out to dubious politicians."

The worker's opinion was backed by his colleagues—V.M. Troshin, turner at Perm Oblast's Sverdlov Production Association; V.D. Kolesnikov, electrical installation worker at Orsk's No. 1 Heat and Electric Power Station in Orenburg Oblast; and B.N. Yeremenko, team leader at the "Nerskiy" Gold Mine of the "Indigirzoloto" Mining and Enriching Combine in the Yakut ASSR. It seems quite a remarkable fact that the voice of Communist workers was finally heard out loud and, moreover, at a prestigious event like the sitting of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee's elected membership.

One of the distinguishing features of the conversation which took place was perhaps the fact that it was "down to earth." In other words, the spirit of life was present in the hall throughout the six hours of the sitting's duration. Acute worry about Russia's future ran right through all the speeches. Each speech dealt, to a greater or lesser extent, with the basic document due to be adopted at the second stage of the constituent congress—the RSFSR Communist Party Action Program. Having basically approved the proposed draft, the sitting participants—all of whom without exception, by the way, had the right to vote—unanimously decided to submit the document for discussion by all Communists and the broad public in Russia and, for this purpose, it will be published in the press in the next few days.

The sitting also produced an "unscheduled episode," when P.I. Bestuzhev, first secretary of Altay Kray's Topchikhinskiy CPSU Raykom, proposed the adoption of an address to Russians concerning the alarming situation which has developed as regards the harvest. This idea immediately won the meeting's ardent support, seeing that those assembled included quite a few who had come there straight from the frontline where the new harvest's fate is being decided.

As for the resumption of the constituent congress' work, the sitting participants were virtually unanimous: Under no circumstances should the holding of its second stage be postponed. The registration of delegates and guests will actually begin 2 September. The forum of Russian Communists—which will complete the formation of the RSFSR Communist Party, will finalize the election of its Central Committee, its Control Commission members, and its chairman, and will adopt its action program—will resume its work in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow 4-6 September this year.

Silayev Chairs Council of Ministers Session

PM2208135090 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] A routine session of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers Presidium, which examined a number of topical problems of the republic's social and economic life, was held 17 August.

G.A. Yavlinskiy, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Commission on Economic Reform, briefed government members on the proposals on basic guidelines for the activity of the RSFSR State Committee on Antimonopoly Policy and Support for New Economic Structures. Among the most important tasks are measures to overcome monopoly trends in the economy and the creation of a real competitive environment as well as every kind of practical support for new forms of organization and running the economy. It was noted that the committee is called upon to promote the creation of equal conditions for the useful economic activity of all commodity producers regardless of their form of ownership, and to actively cooperate in the elaboration of their decisions with all organizations and structures that protect consumers' interests and rights. The government agreed that it is necessary to speed up the process of adopting antimonopoly legislation.

G.I. Filshin, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee on the Economy, reported on proposals to implement the decisions of the first Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies "On the RSFSR's Socioeconomic Position," designating the rapid saturation of the market with consumer goods as a top-priority task. He noted that the government is faced with the difficult problem of elaborating a realistic vision of the development of the Russian economy for the upcoming year primarily as regards the formation of the budget.

During the discussion that took place, I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, drew attention to the fact that in 1991 it will be necessary to create powerful material and financial support for the transition to market relations. At the same time it is fundamentally important for the Russian Federation that priority be given to the regeneration of the countryside, and that measures to stimulate all the producers who work for the countryside be thought out. The government has adopted a decision on the preparion of a report for the RSFSR Supreme Soviet expounding the basic elements of its activity for the upcoming year, and on the stepping up of work on a number of legislative acts.

A difficult discussion was held on mutual relations between the RSFSR Council of Ministers and Moscow City organs of power, where many problems are now occurring which arose primarily through the lack of necessary legislative acts. It was stressed that the government deems it necessary to build these relations on a firm legal foundation, on the basis of mutual respect between the sides and a correct attitude in resolving controversial questions. Many of the speakers in the discussion said that the prompter adoption of an appropriate law on Moscow's status would have been a positive factor.

M.N. Poltoranin, RSFSR minister of the press and mass information, briefed the participants in the session on the extremely strained situation that has developed as regards the supply of paper for printing children's literature and new Russian publications. The lack of paper is a path toward the restriction of glasnost. Therefore the Russian government believes that it is important both to bring in a number of measures for the more rational use of existing potential and to prepare a special program to extend the production of paper in the republic.

Other questions concerning the activity of the RSFSR government were also examined at the session. I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, led the session.

Silayev Invites Solzhenistyn To Visit as 'Guest'

PM2308084590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[Letter from I. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, to the writer A. Solzhenitsyn]

[Text] Esteemed Aleksandr Isayevich!

In addressing this letter to you, a great son of the Russian people, I am primarily guided by our common love of the long-suffering Russian land and its people. In your works you have carried the word to the whole world about Russia and its fate in the cruel, merciless 20th century. Your word has now also reached our country and is needed in all spheres of life: religious, spiritual, cultural, state, and economic life. The interests of our state and its future require me to ask you and your family to accept an invitation to be my personal guests at any time you choose. Now, when your works have begun their journey to the people for whom they are primarily intended and when the contradictions of which all Russian life is woven have reached heights fraught with a new split, your arrival in Russia would, in my opinion, be an action as vital to our country as the air that it breathes.

Naturally, your arrival will not obligate you in any way regarding your future. You will decide your own itinerary and my mission will be to assist you.

The renewal of Russia and its return to true human and spiritual values is our objective. We know that this is your objective also.

With respect and the friendliest of sentiments,

[Signed] I. Silayev

Khasbulatov on Party, Government Relations

90UN2636A Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 29, 29 Jul-5 Aug 90 p 10

[Interview with Ruslan Khasbulatov, D.Sc. (Economics) by Lyudmila Telen: "Ruling Opposition?"—first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] The development was unprecedented in the history of the world's civilized nations: the opposition in Russia's parliament declared itself to be the ruling party, and its leader, Ivan Polozkov, who had suffered a defeat in the competition for the chairmanship of Russia's Supreme Soviet, eventually got a real opportunity to lead the parliament—this time through Russia's Communists, as he claimed them to be members of "his" Communist Party. But will the Communist members of Russia's Supreme Soviet and the government agreed to build the country's economy along the lines visualized by many of the delegates to the Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of Russia, namely, an economy with no private ownership, no labour and capital markets, no freedom of entrepreneurship and trade? Are they prepared to abandon the principles of a freely-operating economy in the name of party discipline? These and other questions are answered here by the First Deputy Chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, professor Ruslan Khasbulatov, D.Sc. (Economics).

[Telen] Do you and people who share your views agree to accept Russia's Communist Party's claim to the ruling position?

[Khasbulatov] I am rather suspicious about a political organization with neither a programme of actions, nor the rules, or any voluntary membership. To the best of my knowledge, nobody has yet volunteered to become a member of the party. In my opinion, the whole affair is an attempt by the outgoing political forces to secure a niche for themselves. So they need another bureaucratic structure for that.

[Telen] These forces will try to use this structure to preserve their mandate to power, won't they?

[Khasbulatov] But this will prove an impossible task. The newly elected Soviets will take and, in fact, are taking power in their hands now. They won the mandate to power by earning the electorate's trust and consequently are in power quite legally. Why should the bodies of people's power give up their mandate for the same of any other political organization, particularly the organization which was actually inexistent at the time of the elections? Under the given situation any claims for power are simply unlawful. However we are prepared for every reasonable form of cooperation with Russia's Communist Party, as well as with all other political parties.

[Telen] You and many other people's deputies of Russia are members of the CPSU. You ignore the claim from the Communist Party of Russia, but do you agree to consider the CPSU as the ruling force in the parliament of Russia and to abide by the rule of party discipline?

[Khasbulatov] I think that the elections to the parliament of Russia were won by the Democratic Bloc rather than by the CPSU, though the majority of the people's deputies belong to the latter. However, on the issue of economic freedoms, the majority of the CPSU deputies are much closer, in their views, to the Democratic Party than to the bloc of Russia's Communists. In fact, this bloc is nothing short of an opposition in the parliament.

The CPSU is not a united political force any more. Therefore, the question about the party discipline in this case is purely academic and irrelevant in regard to the deputies' work.

[Telen] It is irrelevant today, but that may be different tomorrow, since the CPSU is going to adopt certain new documents soon. Judging from the speeches at the 28th congress, these documents will hardly be more liberal than their draft versions. The reverse is more likely. What about then?

[Khasbulatov] That will not change anything, as far as the work of Russia's bodies of power is concerned. Indeed, it would be absurd should we agree to prod the country toward the precipice simply because dogmatists and conservatives happened to constitute the majority of the party congress. Suppose, the majority at the congress refused to accept the idea of the market economy and tried to purge the idea from the congress final resolutions. Do you seriously believe that we would immediately salute our compliance with the order to make a U-turn in the economic policy? The conservatives may indulge in hoping for this turnabout to happen, but it never will, at any rate, in Russia.

[Telen] Do you believe dogmatism to be the main peril?

[Khasbulatov] Yes, and incompetence too. Frankly, I'm subdued by and disappointed at the low intellectual level shown by the congresses of the CPSU and Russia's Communist Party, which is reflected in their draft documents. The impression is that every sensible philosopher, economist or political scientist has left the party. I can judge about it from the situation in a sphere where I'm a specialist: economics. They speak about a planned market economy and a regulated market. But any economist who is worth this name can tell you that there can be only two distinct regulators: administering methods and market relations. The market proper—without any compromising provision attached to its name—is a self-regulating system. What is the real value of assertions of the feasibility of a market minus private ownership, or, according to Polozkov's proposal, a market economy where the labour is not marketed?

All these theoretical quests by incompetent people are not as innocent as they may seem. The anti-cooperative experience of Krasnodar and the ruining of the ANT cooperative (which cost the state millions of troubles in unearned profit) are tale-telling examples of the inefficiency of an ideologically-moderated market economy.

[Telen] Those examples must spell a sobering warning for optimists in Russia's bodies of power: do you have guarantees that you won't meet with powerful resistance in regions where the new Soviets are still under the thumb of the party?

[Khasbulatov] This danger is real but not great. Frankly, the economic and political declarations made at the congress sound to be hardly realistic to me. The delegates still seem to believe that it is they who decide upon the introduction of the market economy, confederative relations, private ownership, or the invitation of foreign capital into the country's economy. But while they make resounding political declarations, many of the republican and regional authorities have already made their own decisions regarding these issues and are acting in line with these decisions. We, in Russia, have begun the realization of the programme which we dubbed "500 Days", which envisages the privatization of property. We are putting through the draft Decree on Power, which, among other things, bans political parties from industries. We are also deliberating a new Constitution and a Union treaty. The Soviet of Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, and Sakahalin put up as active work as the central Soviets of the Russian Federation. The conservatives, if you remember, have always accused the democrats of phrase-mongering and love for public rallies and pointless discussions. Today we have good reason to hurl the same reproach back at the conservatives. Throughout the last month we have been witnessing attempts at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses to salvage the ideology, at a time when it is the whole country that needs to be salvaged.

[Telen] Are you personally concerned about the character of the society which we are going to build, whether it will be communism or not?

[Khasbulatov] I think that the present is not the best time for theoretical discourse. I personally believe in socialism but don't think that we ever had socialism here. It's more important to understand a different thing today: economic problems are not to be confused with social ones. For example, a case of industrial bankruptcy constitutes an issue of economic inefficiency while the fate of a worker relates to the issue of social protection which should be guaranteed by the state. However only a prosperous state with an effective economy can guarantee that. This is how these things are interlinked into one chain, and to change the order of precedence of the links is impossible, no matter how much we would wish to.

This is something which the delegates to the congress must realize before they choose to mount the rostrum to express their indignation at the ideas of our economists.

[Telen] This rostrum is ever more frequently used for voicing a demand to make decisions of the party a must for the delegates who are the CPSU members. What if this demand finds its way into the new party rules, and you are thus prescribed to build a "plan-operated market" and to start a war against private ownership and free entrepreneurship?

[Khasbulatov] I always have a right to decide about my membership in the CPSU. I will drop from the party when I feel that my membership in its becomes a hindrance for the honest and responsible fulfilment of my promises to my electorate. The duty of the people's deputy of Russia has always come before my party commitments.

Economic Implications of Sovereignty Explained

PM2208105990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with S. Shakhray, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Legislation, by V. Shchepotkin; place and date not given: "Defending Sovereignty"—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted a resolution aimed at the protection of the economic sovereignty of the largest Union republic.

What are the reasons for the appearance of such an important document, what is its essence, and how will it operate? S. Shakhray, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Committee on Legislation, answers questions asked by your IZVESTIYA correspondent.

[Shakhray] The resolution is called "On the Protection of the Economic Basis of RSFSR Sovereignty." What was the main motive for its adoption? The actions of Union organs, who behaved as if they did not notice that the Russian Congress of People's Deputies had adopted the declaration on its sovereignty. Important deals were recently made with foreign clients for selling them goods and natural resources which essentially form the economic basis of Russia's sovereignty. And this is particularly important—these deals were made without agreement with the relevant republic organs.

[Shchepotkin] What deals have you in mind?

[Shakhray] I can cite two cases that were publicized in the press—and many more that were not published. Your newspaper recently reported that a large deal was concluded for supplying rough diamonds abroad. This means they were sold on the cheap.

Furthermore. A report that the Soviet Union sold gold, platinum, and precious stones worth $1 billion in the space of a year appeared in the press.

We believe that such actions frankly undermine the economic base of Russia's sovereignty. Therefore the presidium resolution says that foreign economic and Union-republic agreements and deals on the sale of diamonds, gold, platinum, precious stones, petroleum, gas, coal, uranium, rare-earth metals, ferrous and nonferrous metals, furs, timber, grain, and other strategic goods and resources that were concluded after the adoption of the Declaration on the Republic's Sovereignty, or those concluded without agreement with the Russian Federation, should be deemed invalid.

[Shchepotkin] Well, all right, a resolution has been adopted. Have there not been many of them stamped in the last few years, not to say decades? And how will the Russian authorities implement it?

[Shakhray] The RSFSR Council of Ministers has been instructed to prepare a procedure for concluding foreign economic agreements and deals on specific goods and resources. At the same time, instructions have been given to create organs of verification which will be able to ensure order in this matter. And they will have the right to unhindered access to the special depositories of precious metals and stones.

Instructions have also been given to elaborate measures to hold people responsible for violating the procedure. And these violations will qualify as actions that infringe on the economic basis of the republic's sovereignty, which means that they will be seen as state crimes, that is, serious crimes.

[Shchepotkin] That is for the future. And what about now? After all, as before, Russian resources are being sold at giveaway prices even in places where the need to carry on mutual business on the basis of world market prices is publicly stated. For example, petroleum products are again being sold at nominal internal prices. And this at a time when gasoline pump waiting lines kilometers long are stretching all over Russia, when automobiles stand for hours at Moscow filling stations, when there is no fuel to gather the harvest.

[Shakhray] This is probably one of the cases when others decide for us how our resources will be used. Therefore the republic Council of Ministers has also been instructed to carry out an inspection of all deals on specified goods and resources, and what is very important, to inform foreign representations and organizations about the fact that all agreements of this type that are concluded without Russia are invalid. That is, the RSFSR will not meet them. I think that Western businessmen should know that in that case they will have to act on their own responsibility and at their own risk. Russia will not give a gram toward someone else's actions committed without its participation. At the same time, it must by no means be supposed that we want to bar all kinds of trade deals. No, mutually beneficial deals that are agreed with our republic, which possesses full rights over its resources, are fine. We hope that there will be no more of the other kind.

[Shchepotkin] And what is this document's legal future?

[Shakhray] The Supreme Soviet Presidium will submit the question of strengthening Russia's economic sovereignty at the next session, which as we know, will open 3 September.

Yeltsin's Economic Working Group Meets 16 Aug

PM2108123590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondents Mikhail Berger and Irina Demchenko: "B. Yeltsin's Meeting With Working Group"]

[Text] Moscow—On 16 August B. Yeltsin had a planned meeting at the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet with the working group to elaborate the concept of a program for the transfer to a market economy set up under the auspices of the country's president and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman.

The first version of the program was prepared in 10 days, G. Yavlinskiy, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, said in a brief announcement for the press. It has been discussed at its first reading. Its individual sections are currently being finalized.

It should be borne in mind that the group did not start from scratch. The scientists and specialists in the group possessed a number of studies and programs on individual areas of the economic reform—the program known as "500 Days"—and other materials that are more or less complete.

A whole range of fundamental positions of the program has been agreed with representatives of the majority of republics which, the devisers of the program believe, will serve as a guarantee of the formation of a sovereign republics' Union market. Moreover, the main provisions have been discussed with people's deputies and with representatives of worker movements. Mutual understanding was reached on the majority of positions.

At the same time, G. Yavlinskiy noted that the vast majority of Union departments had not given the group the requisite information even though the deadline was reached five days ago. There have been replies to only 12 of the 25 requests. Nevertheless, the group is confident that the program will be ready by the appointed time. After the announcement, which lasted several minutes, the press was asked to leave. The discussion continued behind closed doors.

A press release, "Concerning Further Work on the Program," announced that the program's practical implementation is to begin 1 October. A package of measures to stabilize the financial situation is seen as the first stage of all. The plan is to significantly improve by 1 January money circulation and strengthen the ruble, make it a reliable means of payment, and halt the decline in purchasing power.

After the discussion of the program behind closed doors B. Yeltsin made a statement for the press. The preliminary discussion has shown, he said, that the program is taking shape and it shows a number of significant innovations which make it possible to open the door to a market economy. A number of special emergency measures are envisaged for that purpose. USSR President M.S. Gorbachev is daily keeping watch on the progress of work on the program and, as far as I know, B. Yeltsin said, intends to cut short his leave and return to Moscow to observe the elaboration of the program directly. Representatives of the Union republics—apart from Latvia, Turkmenia, and Estonia—are actively participating in this work and preparing the foundation for the conclusion of an economic Union which could be concluded even before the Union treaty is signed. If it is not possible to achieve agreement with the devisers of the Union program at the preliminary stage, B. Yeltsin stressed, it is not out of the question that the RSFSR Supreme Soviet will adopt a law on the proposed program and will act in accordance with this decision before the actual Union parliamentary session begins. As for certain departments which are contravening the USSR president's order by failing to provide the group with the requisite information (USSR Defense Ministry, USSR Finance Ministry), this, B. Yeltsin said, is intolerable and does not help consolidate the reformers.

Atomic Reactor Shut Down at Tomsk Station

LD2308105490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] The reactor has been shut down at the Tomsk atomic power station, the second in the history of Soviet atomic power engineering. The aim of the station's work was for many years known only to a narrow circle of experts and the very existence of the station was kept top secret. The conversion that has begun, our correspondent reports, has ended the 35 year biography of the oldest atomic power station, which has done its job.

With its closure, there will be a noticeable improvement in the ecological situation in the city of 500,000 people and the Ob water basin.

Report Examines Successful Gorkiy Oblast Farm

PM1908194590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830A GMT 16 Aug 90

[Report by A. Tsirulnikov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] I have known the Krasnyy Mayak Kolkhoz [Collective Farm] in Gorodetskiy Rayon, Gorkiy Oblast, for many years and I cannot remember a year when the grain or feed harvest was poor here. The land here in the northern Transvolga region is cold and infertile. But local people have taught these fields to produce as much as fields in the Chernozem zone. This is why the kolkhoz is rich.

The kolkhoz was managed for three decades by Hero of Socialist Labor I.P. Zhelezov, who died last spring. It has been decided to name this rural street for him. [video shows street]

The new chairman, S.A. Sukhov, has preserved all that was best in the past during the last six months, while introducing new ways of development at the "Krasnyy Mayak," ways prompted by our rapidly changing living and working conditions.

Sergey Alekseyevich, you earlier defined you kolkhoz as a union of free proprietors, or free co-owners, what do you mean by this term?

[S.A. Sukhov, kolkhoz chairman] I did not say proprietors, I said co-owners. The point is that when our kolkhoz was set up 60 years ago, people joined it bringing their machinery or horse or whatever with them, and our powerful kolkhoz has grown up on this basis. Our fixed assets now total 17 million rubles, there are 500 kolkhoz members and 800 pensioners. So there have to be owners. If someone has worked here just two or three years, he must be able to be sure that he has a stake, a share in this kolkhoz. And if he does not like our kolkhoz system, he must be able to take his share out and set up an individual farm, or a livestock unit, or whatever. That is his affair.

[Reporter] So you favor various forms of ownership?

[Sukhov] Yes, I do, I favor individual farming, leaseholding, all forms. When a conflict arises in our kolkhoz, when someone is not pulling his weight, for instance, we tell them straight, if you do not want to be in our cooperative, take you share—which we will determine—and withdraw from the kolkhoz if you please, set up your own farm. Many people decline.

[Reporter] At the moment there is one party organization in the kolkhoz. Can you imagine a situation where there are several party organizations, where members of different parties work alongside each other?

[Sukhov] This cannot be ruled out. The main thing is a good moral and businesslike atmosphere.

Chuvashia Urges Water Purification Installations

PM1708115990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 13 Aug 90

[Report by Ye. Nikonov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The subject of ecology has unfortunately become mandatory in our program. The material that we receive from our correspondents is often reminiscent of disaster alerts. Here is one of the latest alerts that the editorial office received from Chuvashia.

[Nikonov] [video shows purification installations] Although I was warned that none of these purification installations worked, I still did not believe it. Things had, after all, been built here. The purification installations at the Progress Kolkhoz [Collective Farm], Cheboksarskiy Rayon, were built three years ago and reports and documents have been giving us the idea for three years now that clean water is flowing into the Volga.

[F.Kh. Agishev, head of the State Committee for Environmental Protection of Chuvash ASSR (Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic)] We at the State Committee for Environmental Protection have today monitored and surveyed 133, that is, virtually all the purification installations in our republic. What emerges? The statistics are lamentable. Roughly 90 percent are inadequate in purifying effluent—you understand, 90 percent. Let me give you another figure—something in the order of 30 percent are in this state [points to purification installation], that is, they have never been in operation. We're talking about wasted money.

[Nikonov] Wasting money to no purpose is of course a shame. For instance, roughly 50,000 rubles has been sunk into this. But something else is far worse for us. Our life is changing, albeit slowly. The number of streets with every, so to speak, municipal convenience is increasing—kindergartens, canteens, hospitals are being built. And effluent appears—excuse me talking about the seamy side of life—which upsets the rural environment. A filter has been built to block this effluent's passage, which, as you can see, has not been used—it joins up directly with this small stream, which in turn heads off to the Volga. There are roughly 2,000 small streams of this kind in Chuvashia alone. As you know the backstreets of Russia are by no means supplied by springs. It is not, after all, here alone that we have this kind of picture, it is a common problem. This is the position in most parts of the Volga basin. Alas, we need several filters and responsibility.

Magadan Port Facilities, Reserves Examined

PM1908193090 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 15 Aug 90

[Report by V. Gerasimov and F. Belik on Magadan port facilities and reserves from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Our Magadan correspondents raise a topical theme in their reportage, at least for people living in the North.

[Reporter] When geological prospectors were looking for a site to build the future Magadan in the twenties, they chose the Nagayeva Bay. Today millions of tonnes of all kind of freight for the north arrives through the maritime gateway of the Kolyma. At the Magadan Local History Museum there are photographs depicting passenger vessels in the port.

Stanislav Petrovich Londarev has worked at the maritime port for the past 21 years and is himself a motorist. He recalls the passenger vessels that used to come here.

[Londarev] Yes, it used to happen.

[Reporter] How often did the passenger vessels arrive?

[Londarev] I think it was once a month.

[Reporter] Did many people use them?

[Londarev] People used them to go on vacations. It was very nice.

[Reporter] Today the port is officially described as a commercial port. Air transport has taken over all the passengers. No one would dream today of traveling to Moscow by sea and then via the Trans-Siberian Railroad.

However, going on vacation by sea to the warm Maritime Kray is a different matter. Thousands of people living in the north would be happy to choose this route. This applies especially to motorists. However, only a few lucky ones are able to do this, by making a deal with obliging cargo ship captains. Incidentally, virtually all of the cargo ships go back empty to Maritime Kray. However, most motorists are obliged to return to Magadan with their Zhiguli, Moskvich, and Zaporozhets cars by air. And that is very expensive.

Why is there still no passenger line between Magadan and Maritime Kray? The inhabitants of the north have raised this question with the local authorities and in the local press, radio, and television. They have even a written a letter to Comrade Volmer, minister of the maritime fleet, requesting the resumption of passenger traffic. But so far they have received no answer.

We asked Comrade Boldychev, chief of the Magadan merchant port, for his opinion on this issue. However, Valeriy Aleksandrovich politely declined. It is true though that he said that the port could process passenger vessels right now. And, incidentally, there are such vessels in the Far East Shipping Line. Allegedly it is all in the hands of the superior authorities. So who will resolve this long overdue problem?

Western Republics

TASS Rejoinder on Privileged Perestroyka Class

LD2108175890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Special Apartments for Deputies: This is the title of a rejoinder from a TASS correspondent in Minsk. The first session of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet was carried almost in full on republican radio and television, with only a few of its sittings held behind closed doors. Moreover, at the first of these even journalists were kept out. It turned out that the closed subject was that of making provision for the activities of people's deputies. It is now plain that there was nothing accidental about this.

Everyone remembers, the journalist writes, with what passion many of those elected by the people—when they were still only candidates for deputy—spoke about doing away with privilege in the matter of housing provision. In no time at all the parliament goes and adopts a decision without precedent, namely, that a people's deputy who has been released from his production or administrative duties because of working in the republic's highest organ of authority and who has no permanent place of residence in Minsk is allocated accommodation for his whole family, in essence, for life.

In practice, the TASS correspondent notes, all the republican parliaments and the national parliament have—in the view of the acute shortage of accommodation—made decisions to provide deputies with official apartments but on a temporary basis. In Belorussia, however, everything is being done the other way around: Every new deputy from outside the capital who has relinquished his original job will receive an apartment for good.

On learning of this Supreme Soviet decision, many residents of Belorussia are quite reasonably asking whether we are not seeing the growth of a new privileged perestroyka class.

Belorussian Resolution on Government Changes

90UN2604B Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 20 Jul 90 p 3

["Decree of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet on a Partial Change in the Structure of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet decrees:

To introduce the following changes to the structure of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, which was approved by the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet on 11 July 1990:

1. To introduce the following positions to the structure:

Deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers in charge of questions of the construction complex; the posts of deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Construction are eliminated;

Deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Problems of the Consequences of the Catastrophe at the Chernobyl AES (nuclear power plant); the posts of deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Elimination of the Consequences of the Accident at the Chernobyl AES are eliminated.

2. To introduce to the structure:
A Belorussian SSR Ministry of Construction;
A Belorussian SSR Ministry of Assembly and Specialized Building Works;
A Belorussian SSR Ministry of Communications and Information Science; the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Communication is eliminated;
A Belorussian SSR State Committee for Problems of the Consequences of the Catastrophe at the Chernobyl AES; the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Elimination of the Consequences of the Accident at the Chernobyl AES is eliminated.

[Signed] N. Dementey, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.
[Dated] Minsk, 16 July 1990.

Moldavian Government Dissolves Gagauz Movement

LD2208143990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1215 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Kishinev, 22 Aug (TASS)—The Moldovan government today adopted a decision on the dissolution of the people's movement "Gagauz Khalky"—a public organization created to defend the rights of the Gagauz minority ethnic group in the republic. The decision which was adopted is explained by the statements that this people's movement "is manifesting disrespect for the requirements of the constitution of the Moldova SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]" and "is making illegal decisions directed toward undermining the state and social system in the republic and violating its territorial integrity."

Several days ago a congress of people's deputies at all levels from the five southern rayons of Moldova was held with the active participation of "Gagauz Khalky" and proclaimed the foundation of a Gagauz republic. The Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on Monday declared this act "anticonstitutional" and "having no force in Law."

The Gagauz are the descendants of Bulgarian Christians who fled the persecution of the Ottoman Empire and came to Moldovan territory.

Deputies Debate Congress

PM2308113590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Dispatch by Eduard Kondratov: "After Decision of Congress in Komrat"]

[Text] Kishinev—On Monday at an emergency extraordinary sitting the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium defined its attitude toward the proclamation of the Gagauz republic by a congress of people's deputies from five southern regions of Moldova.

The debate continued for several hours, but unanimity on the part of the participants appeared only in the assessment of the decisions of the congress of Gagauz deputies in Komrat. They were defined as anticonstitutional and therefore having no legal significance. The activity of the inspirers and organizers of the congress, both the leaders of the "Gagauz Khalky" movement and the people's deputies and leaders of local soviets, was called political adventurism and the documents adopted by the congress were called a manifestation of legal and historical ignorance.

The opinions of the presidium members were divided when talk turned to the main thing: How to exert practical influence on the situation? Some of those taking part in the sitting insisted on the toughest decisions: outlawing "Gagauz Khalky," using Internal Affairs Ministry Forces, immediately instituting criminal proceedings, and even arresting the "ringleaders." The supporters of drastic measures believe that diplomacy, persuasion, and countless "Chinese warnings" are having no effect, that the time has come to use force. Otherwise the voters will be disillusioned with such an ineffective parliament.

But not all members of the presidium thought this way. In the opinion of A. Plugaru, it is essential first of all to predict the possible consequences and to think now about what must be done "to prevent an Ulster." There was also talk about how the main thing today is not to cross the fatal boundary beyond which blood could be shed but to seek any opportunity for dialogue between the deputies and the population.

At the sitting the presidium members said a lot about the reasons for the anticonstitutional actions in Komrat and saw them not in the Gagauz' persistent desire for self-determination but in the destructive forces playing the "Gagauz card." The majority of presidium members are convinced that the Gagauz' separatist sentiments are inspired by antiperestroyka circles in the cities of the left bank of the Dnestr interested in destabilizing life in the republic and undermining the authority of its parliament and government.

The resolution adopted by the Moldovan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium annulled as illegal all decisions of the congress in Komrat, noting that their execution will be assessed as opposition to the law. The Moldova government has been instructed to study the question of whether the activity of "Gagauz Khalky" accords with its statute and to determine whether its future activity is expedient in general. The Ministry of Internal Affairs, KGB, and prosecutor's office must ascertain how exactly prepared the congress in Komrat and how in order to bring the culprits to book.

It has been decided that all responsibility for the possible adverse consequences of these measures will be borne by the "Gagauz Khalky" leaders and also by the deputies who preach the idea of the violent splitting of the republic, provoke the Gagauz people to illegal actions, and push people toward interethnic clashes.

It has also been decided to temporarily withdraw militia organs from their subordination to the local soviets in several cities and rayons which are "hot spots."

Moldavian Premier Notes Republic Changes

90UN2678A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 33, 18-24 Aug 90 p 4

[Interview with M. Druk, premier of the Moldova SSR, by I. Morzharetto; place and date not specified: "Moldova: In Search of Its Own Path"]

[Text] *In recent years we have become witnesses to a rapid climb from obscurity to the heights of power by many entirely "non-nomenklatura" and informal leaders. Among these is M. Druk, premier of the Moldova SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic].*

[Morzharetto] Mircho Georgiyevich, your path to higher politics was not easy and strewn with roses.... You have behind you two university faculties—economics and psychology—work in capital and provincial VUZ's [higher educational institutions] and expulsion from the ranks of the CPSU with the stigma of "nationalist." And now you are the premier.

[Druk] Excuse me, but I do not consider myself a politician. Politics is a matter for parliament. But I am an executive, an artisan, a "homo faber" (a person who produces), if you wish. I am building a "home," whose design was developed in the Supreme Soviet. And in order to avoid political prejudices, according to the Law on Government adopted by the parliament, all of its employees dropped their membership of parties several months ago.

[Morzharetto] The parliament of the republic ratified the Declaration of Sovereignty. How are its principles being put into practice?

[Druk] Today, the most important events are occurring in the area of foreign policy. I have in mind the bilateral negotiations between republics. Equal sovereign states must themselves decide whether to unite in a union, federation, or confederation, and what rights to delegate to the center. We do not need a regular central distributor who takes everything and later decides how much to give to whom, as is now practiced frequently. As an example, Moldova produces wine, but it does not have the right to sell it abroad without a license from the USSR MVES [Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations], and without the approval of the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] it does not have the right to sell wine inside the country...

[Morzharetto] And what, in your opinion, should the Union be?

[Druk] I think that it is not necessary to invent anything new, and that use should be made of the available European Community experience. A European parliament exists there which works up recommendations and standards that apply to all countries and that at the same time do not infringe on the interests and sovereignty either of large France or small Luxembourg. As a result, the mutual ties and cooperation between the European countries are greater than those between our Union republics, and the situation on the border of France and the FRG is far better than that between "fraternal" Armenia and Azerbaijan.

[Morzharetto] What immediate economic reforms does your government plan to conduct in the republic?

[Druk] Immediate—all. For example, how to eliminate the enormous losses of agricultural products? (And we lose 35-40 percent of what is grown annually.) This means that it is urgently necessary to modernize and, in fact, establish a new processing industry. Then we will be able not only to feed the republic, but also to begin trade in the products. We see an opportunity for the development of cattle-breeding and on this basis to create a shoe industry. Moldova also has everything for perfume-cosmetics and pharmaceutical production. However, despite the traditions of the Moldavian people, we were forced for decades to specialize only in the cultivation of grapes and tomatoes.

But let us take the housing problem. People are ready to build by themselves, but there are no building materials. And this is given the fact that the republic has the raw materials for the production of bricks, roofing tile, and ceramic tile!

[Morzharetto] What path is the government taking to resolve all of these problems?

[Druk] We are placing emphasis on small and average enterprises that are traditional for Moldova. Privatization is necessary, and now aggressive work is taking place on the mechanism for this process. For the time being there are quite a few unresolved questions. For example, we are already conducting negotiations on the total privatization of the entire system of tourism. But how much will one or another hotel cost? There are no rates, and there is no stock exchange, but the still few and timid enterprises should not be scared off.

[Morzharetto] For decades they frightened us with a market, and they even hinted at private enterprise;

therefore, the shift to a market economy cannot be proclaimed by decree—it is necessary to change the psychology of the people.

[Druk] I would prefer the name "normal economy," and not "market economy." In 72 years we became convinced that products can be produced only under conditions of freedom, because free enterprise is the only known method of production that does not ignore the laws of the development of the human psyche. Today, many began to understand that it is necessary to live according to the laws of economics and not politics, but we still do not recognize that the psyche also has its own laws. And the laws of a normal and a market economy are exactly compatible with them.

[Morzharetto] Mircho Georgiyevich, how did the number of ministries and the officials who work in them change in connection with the change in the tasks set before the government?

[Druk] While the initial plan proposed leaving 36 ministries in the republic, the number is now reduced to 16, and, moreover, the process is not yet completed. But we are not setting tasks such as: By such-and-such a date, discharge 50 percent; no. Special commissions that took levels of competence, experience, and so forth into account approved employees for jobs in the new ministries. Incidentally, we are opening six new schools in the buildings of six of the former ministries. This will make it possible to cancel the third and partially the second shift in the capital.

[Morzharetto] Did the commission take knowledge of the Moldavian language into account?

[Druk] Undoubtedly. According to our laws, a person who does not know the state language cannot occupy a responsible state position. At the present time, about 40 percent of the specialists in the new organs of state administration do not speak Moldavian. They have started, or are supposed to start, learning the language if they want to work in the government in the future.

[Morzharetto] But does the Russian-speaking population of the republic not consider these measures discriminatory?..

[Druk] I do not like the term "Russian-speaking." I, like all Moldavians, speak Russian, and so we also can be called "Russian-speaking." We have to talk about people who do not know any language other than Russian. No one demands that a housewife or a pensioner know the Moldavian language—it is their personal affair. But if a person aspires to a state post—he is obligated to know it.

[Morzharetto] Is the question of reunification with Romania on the work agenda of your government?

[Druk] No. No one ever raised it in the government (I cannot answer for the baseless speeches of all extremists), and no one is raising it. Moreover, it is also not being raised in Romania. There are two states, and each has its own problems, ways for resolving them, etc.

Nationalism Seen Increasing

90UN2678B Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Aug 90 p 1

[Article by A. Khantsevich: "Two Republics—Six States"]

[Excerpt]**Moldova**

The temperature is 30 in Kishinev. And as in any southern city, there are a lot of visitors.

"Can you tell me how to get to Kotovskiy Street," a woman with a tote bag in her hands asked two young men who were talking in the Moldavian language.

"There is no longer such a street," one of them responds, flabbergasted. And then he explains how to find the no-longer-existing street...

There is general enthusiasm in the Republic for renaming things. New names are being given to streets, squares, settlements, and entire rayons. Moreover, the former Moldavian SSR itself has become the sovereign state of Moldova—that is what parliament has decided. Of course, this process is least of all rooted in linguistics. Historical, national, and political motives are behind all of the redesignations. And it is also absolutely obvious that the carefully painted new Latin inscriptions on road signs in the vicinity of Tiraspol have no relationship whatever to the field of linguistics.

A new vehicle bridge across the Dnestr in a rayon of Bendery has not brought the left bank a bit closer to the right bank, and it has not reduced the dissension between the territories, between the people of different nationalities who populate them, or between fronts and parties and organs of authority. After last year's many days of political strikes associated with the adoption of laws on the state language, the parties switched to the language of political ultimatums. The parliament of the Republic adopts one law and the city soviets of Tiraspol, Bendery, and Rybnitsa there and then suspend its implementation in their own settlements. The Supreme Soviet of Moldova declares such decisions unconstitutional, and demands can be heard from the left bank for the creation of a trans-Dnestr autonomy.

A one-time friendly and boisterous Kishinev, without exaggeration, can be called a city of frowning people. The problem of laws on the state language, which caused a sensation more than a year ago, and which is decided in democratic societies through parliamentary debates and referendums, was completely turned over to crowded street processions, and, to put it bluntly, to power pressure. It was then also that the cornerstone of interethnic confrontation was laid.

"The process is building for the formation of a totalitarian monopolistic state," is the conviction of I. Smirnov, chairman of the Tiraspol City Soviet of People's Deputies.

Groundless fears? Or simply unsatisfied ambitions of leaders who considered that their rights were infringed upon in connection with the adoption of the separate laws of the Moldova SSR.

This is exactly the way in which the Supreme Soviet of the Moldova SSR evaluated such discussions and decisions in adopting the decree on the unconstitutional activity of the Bendery and Rybnitsa City Soviets.

Once again the language of ultimatums? But will such a path lead to the desired "consensus" which is continuously repeated on both the right and the left bank of the Dnestr?

Especially since the Congress of the Moldova People's Front was held and the decisions adopted by it automatically suggest that the fears of the deputies on the left bank are not so groundless. I will not comment on all of the ideas that were heard at the Congress. Such as, for example, the statement on naming the sovereign independent state the "Romanian Republic of Moldova." At present, sociological polls in both Moldova and Romania do not favor unification. Indeed, even the leaders of the People's Front themselves declared more than once that they do not support an immediate elimination of borders.

But a whole series of other program documents of the Congress compel giving at least some thought to the objectives of the front, which declared itself a year back to be a democratic movement in support of perestroyka. For example, the statement on "the dismantling of the communist regime and the abolition of the existing structures of governing and the creation of new ones on all of the territory" was evaluated by the Communist Party of Moldova Central Committee Bureau as an actual call to overthrow the existing system.

In his recent speech on national radio and television, Mircha Ion Snegur, chairman of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet, speaking about the decisions of the Congress condemned the escalation of anticommunism, noting that these actions were of an explosive nature and at the same time are incomprehensible to many people.

The main part of M. Snegur's address to the people was devoted to the trans-Dnestr "separatists." Calling their actions "political provocations," the chairman of the Supreme Soviet declared that it was time that conversations and exhortations were ended, and that everyone has to answer to the law...

...Every sociopolitical movement in the Republic deems it its duty to announce its own program for getting out of the economic crisis. But the differences in the programs, let us say, of the People's Front and its opponent—the intermovement "Unitate" or "Unity"—is slight. One and the other is for market relations, for economic independence, for liberation from official dictates—in a word, for the entire series of phrases that can be heard in any other region of our long-suffering country.

Tiraspol residents are thinking more concretely about their future. They appealed to the Odessa City Soviet of People's Deputies with a proposal to establish an association of cities with a so-called free economic zone.

In the end, the deputies started to examine questions of the economy. In resuming its work, the first session of the Supreme Soviet examined a concept proposed by the new government for a transition of the Republic to regulated market relations. It envisages, in particular, the privatization of property, the stimulation of private enterprise, and a number of other measures.

But for the time being the situation in the national economy of Moldova, as the saying goes, is hopeless. Every second enterprise has reduced its volume of production. Construction plans are failing, and the situation in agriculture is alarming.

And it appears that tranquility is a long way off. An extraordinary congress of the Gagauz people was held—leaders of the "Gagauz Independence Movement" also insist on the establishment of their own autonomy in the southern rayons of Moldova.

For many, apparently, the decision of the Congress of the People's Front concerning the irreconcilability of its members simultaneously belonging to any kind of political organization served as a spur to leave the CPSU. [passage omitted]

Moldavian Supreme Soviet Passes Laws, Decrees

Law on Constitutional Amendment

90UN2629A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVA in Russian 2 Aug 90 p 3

["Law of the Moldova Soviet Socialist Republic on Introducing an Amendment to Article 74 of the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Moldova Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Moldova SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] resolves:

1. That Article 74 of the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Moldova SSR be worded as follows:

"Article 74. Laws adopted by the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet are effective in the Moldova SSR.

"Laws of the USSR and other legal acts of USSR organs of state power and government, as well as ukases of the USSR president, are effective on the territory of the Moldova SSR only following their confirmation (ratification) by the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet and registration according to established procedure. After ratification their effectiveness may be restricted or suspended by resolution of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet."

2. This Law enters into effect as of the day of its publication.

[Signed] M. Snegur, chairman of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet.
[Dated] City of Kishinev, 26 July 1990.

Resolution on Socioeconomic Improvements

90UN2629B Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA in Russian 2 Aug 90 p 3

["Resolution of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet on the Inquiry of a Group of Moldova SSR People's Deputies From the Southern Rayons of the Republic"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Moldova SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] resolves:

1. To take under consideration the inquiry of a group of Moldova SSR people's deputies on the state of agriculture which has come about in southern rayons as a result of unfavorable weather conditions.

2. That the Moldova SSR government will draw up a set of emergency measures to eliminate the aftereffects of natural calamities and to provide state, cooperative, and individual farms everything necessary for their normal vital activity during the fall-winter period of 1990-1991.

3. That the Commission on Agrarian Matters and Social Development of the Village of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet will exercise control over the measures being undertaken to improve the socioeconomic state of the southern rayons of the Moldova SSR.

[Signed] M. Snegur, chairman of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet.
[Dated] City of Kishinev, 28 July 1990.

Decree on Renaming Villages

90UN2629C Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA in Russian 2 Aug 90 p 3

["Resolution of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet on Changing the Names and Restoring Certain Former Names of Populated Areas and Rural Soviets of the Moldova SSR"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Moldova SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] resolves:

1. To rename Dnestrovskiy Rayon of the city of Kishinev as the Rayon of Chokan.

2. To rename the village and village soviet of Yegorovka, Sorokskiy Rayon, as Yegoren.

3. To return to the village of Glavan, Drokiyevskiy Rayon, its old name of Tsarigrad; to rename the village soviet of Glavan as Tsarigrad.

4. To return to the village of Suvorov, Vulkeneshtskiy Rayon, its old name of Aleksandru Ioan Kuza; to rename the village soviet of Suvorov as Aleksandru Ioan Kuza.

5. To return to the village of Frunzen, Floreshtskiy Rayon, its old name of Chenusha.

[Signed] M. Snegur, chairman of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet.
[Dated] City of Kishinev, 27 July 1990.

Decree on Constitutional Amendment

90UN2629D Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA in Russian 2 Aug 90 p 3

["Text" of "Resolution of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet on a Legislative Initiative of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] In accordance with Article 1 of the Moldova SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Law of 26 July 1990 "On Introducing an Amendment to Article 74 of the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Moldova SSR," and guided by Article 114 of the USSR Constitution (Basic Law), the Supreme Soviet of the Moldova SSR resolves:

To apply to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies through procedure of legislative initiative with a proposal to introduce into the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and Regulations of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and USSR Supreme Soviet the following amendments and additions:

1. Article 74 of the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) is to be worded as follows:

"Article 74. Laws and other legal enactments of the USSR have the same effectiveness, following their ratification by the Union republics, over the entire territory of the USSR."

2. In Point 8 of Article 127 superscript 3, the words "signs USSR laws" are to be replaced by "after ratification by the Union republics, signs USSR laws."

3. In Article 127 superscript 7, the words "having obligatory force over the entire territory of the country" are to be replaced by "having obligatory force in the territory of the Union republics only after their ratification by the highest organs of state power of these republics."

4. In the Regulations of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and USSR Supreme Soviet, Part Two of Article 137 is to be worded as follows:

"After examination of the draft law in the first reading, the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and USSR Supreme Soviet transmit it for examination to the highest organs of state power of the Union republics. In the event the draft law is approved by a majority of the Union republics, it is transmitted for final examination to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies or USSR Supreme Soviet.

If the draft law is turned down by a majority of the Union republics, it will be removed from consideration."

[Signed] M. Snegur, chairman of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet.

[Dated] City of Kishinev, 26 July 1990.

Decree on Activities of Procuracy

90UN2629E Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA in Russian 2 Aug 90 p 3

["Text" of "resolution of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet on Certain Particulars of Activity of the Moldova SSR Procuracy"]

[Text] In connection with adoption of the Moldova SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Law of 26 July 1990 "On Introducing Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Moldova SSR, in accordance with which amendments and additions were introduced into Articles 163, 164, and 166 of the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Moldova SSR, the Supreme Soviet of the Moldova SSR resolves:

1. That until adoption of the Moldova SSR Law "On the Procuracy of the Moldova SSR," the Moldova SSR Procuracy is to be guided in its activities by the USSR Law "On the USSR Procuracy" of 30 November 1979, under the condition that the norms of this law do not contradict the principles of the Declaration on Sovereignty of the Moldova SSR and Moldova SSR Constitution (Basic Law).

2. To direct the Procuracy of the Moldova SSR to develop and present to the Presidium of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet for its examination a draft Moldova SSR Law "On the Moldova SSR Procuracy" prior to 1 September 1990.

3. That the Moldova SSR Government is to decide jointly with the USSR Council of Ministers the issue of transferring to republic ownership the material-technical base (buildings, structures, transportation, and other facilities) of the organs of the Moldova SSR Procuracy.

To provide, beginning in 1991, for the financing of Moldova SSR Procuracy activity from the republic budget.

To inform the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet as to measures taken at its fall session.

4. That supervision of the accomplishment of this resolution is to be entrusted to the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet Commissions on Legal Issues (F.M. Pantsyru), on the Fight Against Crime (V.M. Berlinskiy), and on Matters of the Economy and Budget (M.G. Patrash).

5. This resolution enters into force from the day of its adoption.

[Signed] M. Snegur, chairman of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet.

[Dated] City of Kishinev, 26 July 1990.

Decree on Ratification of Laws

90UN2629F Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA in Russian 2 Aug 90 p 3

["Resolution of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet on Delivering Certain USSR Laws to Standing Commissions of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet for their Conclusions Regarding the Possibility of Ratification"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Moldova SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] resolves:

1. To deliver the following USSR Laws for the examination of standing commissions of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet so that they may present conclusions regarding the possibility of their ratification by the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet:

"Foundations of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on Leasing"—to the Commissions: on Matters of the Economy and Budget, on Matters of Local Self-Government and Local Economy, on Agrarian Matters and Social Development of the Village;

"On Urgent Measures to Improve the Pension System and Social Services for the Population"—to the Commissions: on Public Health and Social Security, on Matters of the Economy and Budget;

"On the Status of Judges in the USSR"—to the Commissions: on Legal Issues, on the Fight Against Crime;

"On Procedure for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes (Conflicts)"—to the Commissions: on Legal Issues, on Public Health and Social Security;

"On the Status of People's Deputies in the USSR"—to the Commissions: on Legal Issues, on the Fight Against Crime, on Deputies' Credentials and Ethics;

"On Constitutional Oversight in the USSR"—to the Commissions: on Legal Issues, on Nationalities Issues, on the Fight Against Crime;

"On Procedures for the Publication and Entry Into Force of USSR Laws and Other Enactments Adopted by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, USSR Supreme Soviet, and Their Organs"—to the Commissions: on Legal Issues, on Glasnost and the Mass Media;

"Foundations of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on the Land"—to the Commissions: on Agrarian Matters and Social Development of the Village, on Local Self-Government and Local Economy, on Ecological Matters;

"On Property in the USSR"—to the Commissions: on Matters of the Economy and Budget, on Legal Issues, on Local Self-Government and Local Economy;

"On Institution of the Position of USSR President and the Introduction of Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law)"—to the Commissions: on Legal Issues, on Nationalities Issues;

"On the Responsibilities and Rights of Internal Troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Protecting Public Order"—to the Commissions: on Legal Issues, on the Fight Against Crime, on Nationalities Issues;

"On General Principles of Local Self-Government and Local Economy in the USSR"—to the Commissions: on Local Self-Government and Local Economy, on Matters of the Economy and Budget, on Agrarian Matters and Social Development of the Village;

"On Principles of Economic Relations Between the USSR, Union and Autonomous Republics"—to the Commissions: on Matters of the Economy and Budget, on Local Self-Government and Local Economy, on Agrarian Matters and Social Development of the Village;

"On Income Tax from USSR Citizens, Foreign Citizens, and Persons Without Citizenship"—to the Commissions: on Matters of the Economy and Budget, on Public Health and Social Security;

"On the Phased Abolition of Tax on Bachelors, Single Persons, and USSR Citizens with Small Families"—to the Commissions: on Matters of the Economy and Budget, on Public Health and Social Security;

"On the Prevention of AIDS"—to the Commissions: on Public Health and Social Security, on the Fight Against Crime, on Women's Issues, Protection of the Family, Mother and Child Welfare;

"On the Languages of the Peoples of the USSR"—to the Commissions: on Nationalities Issues, on Issues of Cult and Culture;

"On the Demarcation of Authority Between the USSR and Federation Entities"—to the Commissions: on Legal Issues, on Nationalities Issues, on State Security, on Military Issues;

"On the Free National Development of USSR Citizens Residing Outside Their National-State Formations or Not Having Such Formations in the Territory of the USSR"—to the Commissions: on Nationalities Issues, on Issues of Cult and Culture;

"On the Rights, Obligations, and Responsibility of State Tax Inspectorates"—to the Commissions: on Matters of the Economy and Budget, on Public Health and Social Security;

"On the Pension System for Military Servicemen"—to the Commissions: on Matters of the Economy and Budget, on Public Health and Social Security, on State Security, on Military Issues;

"On the Pension System for Citizens in the USSR"—to the Commissions: on Matters of the Economy and Budget, on Public Health and Social Security;

"On Enterprises in the USSR"—to the Commissions: on Matters of the Economy and Budget, on Local Self-Government and Local Economy;

"On USSR Citizenship"—to the Commissions: on Legal Issues, on Nationalities Issues;

"On the Press and Other Mass Media"—to the Commissions: on Glasnost and the Mass Media, on Legal Issues;

"On Taxes from Enterprises, Associations, and Organizations"—to the Commissions: on Matters of the Economy and Budget, on Public Health and Social Security;

"On the Legal Procedures for State of Emergency"—to the Commissions: on Legal Issues, on Nationalities Issues, on State Security, on Military Issues;

"On the Soviet Police"—to the Commissions: on the Fight Against Crime, on Legal Issues;

"On Public Associations"—to the Commissions: on Legal Issues, on Youth Problems, on Nationalities Issues;

"On Procedure for Resolving Issues Related to Secession of a Union Republic from the USSR"—to the Commissions: on Legal Issues, on Nationalities Issues, on Matters of the Economy and Budget;

"On Tightening Responsibility for Encroachments Upon the National Equal Rights of Citizens and Forcible Violation of the Unity of USSR Territory"—to the Commissions: on Legal Issues, on Nationalities Issues, on the Fight Against Crime;

"On Cooperatives in the USSR"—to the Commissions: on Matters of the Economy and Budget, on Agrarian Matters and Social Development of the Village, on Local Self-Government and Local Economy;

2. That standing commissions establish working groups when necessary to provide analysis and conclusions regarding the possibility of ratification of USSR laws, and enlist specialists—scholars and practical experts—in this effort.

3. That the Standing Commission on Legal Issues present proposals on the composition of a group of experts to draw up a concept and formulate a mechanism for ratification of USSR laws in effect.

4. That the Moldova SSR Government study the issue of resolutions of the USSR Council of Ministers and introduce proposals regarding procedure for their application on Moldova SSR territory.

[Signed] M. Snegur, chairman of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet.

[Dated] City of Kishinev, 26 July 1990.

Moldavia Forms Environmental Protection Body

LD2108195890 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 4 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] Decision of the Moldova SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet on the establishment of the State Department for Protection of the Environment and Natural Resources.

In connection with the further deterioration in the ecological situation in the Moldova SSR and the need for there to be strict regulation of the utilization of natural resources and effective monitoring of the observance of ecological legislation and for the real independence of the ecological service to be ensured, the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To form the state department for Protection of the Environment and Natural Resources, which is to be directly subordinate to the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet and given priority powers on matters concerning environmental protection and rational use of natural resources.

2. To appoint a general director of the State Department for Protection of the Environment and Natural Resources on the recommendation of the chairman of the Moldovda SSR Supreme Soviet.

3. The commission on ecological matters of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet is to draw up a draft law on the State Department for Protection of the Environment and Natural Resources, and to submit it to the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet.

4. The Moldova SSR Government is to provide the material and technical equipment for the State Department for Protection of the Environment and Natural Resources and to finance scientific development and nature protection programs.

[Signed] M. Snegur, chairman of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet.
[Dated] Kishinev, 28 July, 1990.

Lvov Soviet Says AWOL Servicemen Not Deserters

PM2108131990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Aug 90 First Edition p 2

[Lieutenant Colonel G. Oboznyy report: "Oblast Soviet's Ultimatum"]

[Text] The other day the Lvov Oblast Soviet Presidium adopted a resolution which states clearly that "servicemen on compulsory service who are drafted from Lvov Oblast and who find themselves outside the borders of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] are not to be regarded as deserters if they go AWOL from their unit." The provocative statement runs counter to the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium's appeal urging that, pending the adoption of the relevant legislative acts, "Ukrainian young men carry out their military duty honestly and conscientiously in the subdivisions to which they are sent."

Furthermore, the Lvov deputies resolved as follows: "To inform the USSR Defense Ministry that the oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] will participate in the organization of the fall 1990 draft only if there is an official guarantee that all the recruits who so desire will be allowed to serve on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR." This ultimatum, like the passage on deserters, may primarily have a negative influence on the young men's future. Something to which the deputies are obviously not giving much thought.

Lvov Regional Council Expels PRAVDA Writer

LD2108180490 Moscow World Service in English 0710 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Excerpts] [First announcer] The Regional Council of Lvov in the western Ukraine has taken an unprecedented decision to remove the correspondent's office of the daily PRAVDA from the region. It claimed that the paper had launched a slander campaign against the elected governing bodies in the region and was giving a false account of developments in the western Ukraine. Viktor Kozhimyaka of PRAVDA's editorial board gave the details to our reporter.

[Second announcer] The decision follows a series of critical reports by the PRAVDA correspondent in Lvov, Viktor Drozd. The new local leaders didn't like some of the points he made.

[First announcer] Which of the west Ukrainian developments worry your correspondent?

[Second announcer] He was alarmed by extremist actions which are taking place there under the pretext of promoting democracy. Monuments to Lenin have been dismantled in Chervonograd and Ternopol and communists are being harassed throughout the region. This hardly conforms with the democracy proclaimed by the newly elected Ukrainian parliament and local council. In fact, it is nothing but discrimination and suppression of democracy. Our correspondent has objectively covered those events and gave his assessment. That assessment irritated local executives. Chairman of the Lvov Regional Council, Vyacheslav Chernovyl, suggested that Viktor Drozd be expelled from the city. [passage omitted]

[First announcer] How will PRAVDA deal with the situation?

[Second announcer] The case, Viktor Kozhimyaka said, must be left up to the Ukrainian parliament. We have contacted its chairman who said he knew Viktor Krozd as a principled journalist and an author of objective reports about the complex developments in the western Ukraine. He assured us that parliament will find a proper response to any illegal action. Also, the suit brought by the Lvov Council must be examined in court.

[First announcer] So, signs are that justice will be restored. It's no accident, however, that such a thing has happened to a correspondent of PRAVDA, the organ of the Communist Party Central Committee. The party has lately come under fire from various quarters. It has become fashionable to challenge its paper or try and discredit it. Many associate PRAVDA with the Central Committee apparatus, but according to Viktor Kozhimyaka, that view is completely mistaken.

Journalists Union Protests

PM2108144590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Statement By USSR Journalists Union"]

[Text] The Journalists Union Board Secretariat resolutely protests the illegal actions of the Lvov Oblast Soviet and demands that the prosecution of journalist V. Drozd be stopped.

A scandalous event has happened in Lvov, the USSR Journalists Union Board Secretariat statement stated: The oblast soviet presidium has decided to close the PRAVDA bureau and institute legal proceedings against V. Drozd, this newspaper's own correspondent.

What was our colleague's "offense"? The fact that he had attempted to fairly and honestly depict the situation in the oblast and to openly ask the question: Who is fighting for what kind of Ukraine and with what means? It turned out, the document notes, that directness and glasnost are not prized in Lvov—not only by the oblast's leaders but by journalists on the newspaper ZA VILNU UKRAINU. This press organ has published articles calling for the prosecution of V. Drozd.

The actions of the oblast soviet, its chairman, V.M. Chernovil, and journalists on ZA VILNU UKRAINU are not in keeping with either the law or common sense. They reflect the interests of those who would like to stifle glasnost and maintain diktat over journalists' minds, the statement stresses.

Caucasus

'Heated Debate' Delays Armenian Sovereignty

LD2208204690 Moscow TASS in English 2036 GMT 22 Aug 90

[By ARMENPRESS-TASS correspondent Gagik Melkumyan]

[Text] Yerevan August 22 TASS—The Armenian parliament was today to adopt the Declaration of Independence, the text of which was formulated yesterday. However, the decision to introduce into the declaration the clause about the 1915 genocide against Armenians in the Ottoman Empire and its condemnation by international community sparked a heated debate. The deputies divided on the question of genocide, which has been agitating the Armenian people for decades.

Four variants of proposals on the question of genocide were put to vote. Two of them were suggested to be included in the declaration as a separate clause. These proposals emphasised that the Armenian Republic urges international recognition for the fact of the 1915 genocide against Armenians, and that the Armenian Republic supports the demand of all Armenians for international recognition of the fact of genocide and condemnation and punishment for it. Historic justice and violated rights of the Armenian people should thus be restored.

In the atmosphere of heated debates the consensus has not been achieved today. It was decided to continue the debate tomorrow. The adoption of the final text of the declaration is thus put off again.

Today the deputies also discussed interethnic clashes in the border districts of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Head of parliament Levon Ter-Petrosyan, after the afternoon meeting, left for Idzhevan to meet with Commander of Soviet Interior Ministry Troops Yuriy Shatalin and Commander of the Trans-Caucasian Military District Valeriy Patrikeyev staying there. They will discuss the situation in border districts of Armenia and Azerbaijan and try to work out constructive measures to prevent interethnic clashes.

Declaration Adopted 23 Aug

LD2308122790 Moscow TASS in English 1154 GMT 23 Aug 90

[By ARMENPRESS-TASS correspondent Gagik Melkumyan]

[Text] Yerevan August 23 TASS—Armenia will remain part of the Soviet Union but under a new name—the Republic of Armenia, rather than the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. The change was made in keeping with the declaration on independence adopted by the republican legislature today.

The declaration proclaims Armenia a sovereign state with the supremacy of republican legislation in domestic and external relations.

The independence declaration will form the foundation for drafting a new constitution and other laws.

The declaration proclaims a multi-party system and the equality of all parties, freedom of expression, of the press and of consciousness, and the mandatory delineation of the functions of legislative, executive and judicial bodies.

The declaration grants republican citizenship not only to all residents of Armenia, but also to all Armenians of the Soviet and foreign diaspora.

The document said that the Republic of Armenia, being an independent subject of international law, can establish direct relations with other nations and state national entities in the Soviet Union and take part in the work of international organisations.

The declaration assessed the 1915 genocide of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire and recognised the "inalienable right of the reunification of the Republic of Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region [NKAO]", which is a part of neighbouring Azerbaijan.

The declaration expressed hope for Armenia's joining the United Nations as a full-fledged member of the international community.

Armenian-Azerbaijani Border Situation Reported

Troops Officer Interviewed

PM2208152190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent S. Shevtsov: "Thugs' Bloody Tactics"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] In connection with the aggravation of the situation on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan, readers are asking for more detailed information about the events in this "hot" region of the country. Our correspondent S. Shevtsov has met with Lieutenant Colonel N. Astafyev, senior officer in the Internal Troops main directorate task force. Here is what he said:

"To all appearances the Armenian thugs have drawn no conclusions from the well-known recent decree of the USSR president. In the past week not a single weapon has been handed in in the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. On the other hand over the same period armed bandits have attacked rayon internal affairs departments in Bagramyanskiy, Spandaryanskiy, and other rayons and seized 25 pistols, a hunting rifle, and two radio sets.

"Moreover, the armed vultures have drastically activated their sorties. Before they would attack population centers and the positions of internal troops in an extended line. But now they have changed their tactics: Under cover of hail guns they launch before them reversing Kamaz trucks with raised bodies—they approach to within 300 meters of a population center and then open fire from machine guns, submachineguns, and snipers' rifles. They even have helicopter support!

"Internal Troops Senior Lieutenant A. Lipatov died in the fighting at Baganis-Ayrum where the thugs burnt and looted the entire village. Incidentally, Aleksandr recently took over from Captain Sergey Osetrov, who also died defending a village, but against Azerbaijani extremists.

"In the population center of Askepara bandits managed to burn down two houses but under pressure from Internal Troops subunits were obliged to retreat and take up positions in trenches they had prepared beforehand.

"That is the fierce, merciless mode of operation of the thugs armed with the most sophisticated weapons. In my opinion we must resolutely seek the fulfillment of the USSR president's decree on the dissolution of all illegal armed formations and the handing in of weapons. We must make the maximum use of political means and enlist all Armenia's healthy forces for this. If we do not succeed in calling the bandits to their senses by peaceful means....

"While we are talking the blood of innocent people is still being shed—the terrorists are continuing to fire on the population center of Ashagy Askepara from hail guns."

Normalization Urged

PM2208154190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[ARMENPRESS-TASS report: "Deputies Insist"]

[Text] Yerevan, 21 Aug—At its morning sitting today the Armenian Supreme Soviet was obliged to discuss the situation in Noyemberyanskiy Rayon, about which it had been informed by its chairman, L.A. Ter-Petrosyan.

He described the events which had taken place as "an adventure and act of provocation" as a result of which five people were killed and 25 wounded. The Azerbaijani side has cut off the Kazakh-Yerevan gas pipeline and the railroad.

The deputies demanded that urgent measures be taken to normalize the situation. They even raised the question of halting the work of parliament and of the responsibility borne for these actions by those representatives of the armed formations who ignore its decisions.

Officials Discuss Fighting

AU2208180790 Paris AFP in English 1723 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, Aug 22 (AFP) — The Armenian and Azerbaijan deputy interior ministers Wednesday [22 August] met on their republics' common border to discuss the latest flare-up in fighting between the two communities, a journalist at the AZERINFORM News Agency in Baku said.

And in Yerevan, the Armenian capital, the parliament's speaker Levon Ter-Petrosyan met Yuriy Shatalin, who heads the Soviet Union's Interior Ministry forces, to discuss the situation, INTERFAX News Agency reported.

Meanwhile, shooting continued along the border Wednesday morning, according to a Soviet Interior Ministry communique, quoted by TASS News Agency.

Speaking by telephone, the journalist in Baku told AFP that the Azerbaijani minister, R. Mamedov, and the Armenian minister, G. Grigoryan, had met near Idzhevan to discuss what measures to take to stop border clashes. Local Armenian and Azerbaijani officials also attended.

Fighting appeared to spread further south however with two villages in the Nachichevan region of Azerbaijan coming under fire Wednesday from the Armenian side of the border, the Azeri journalist said.

The latest round of fighting between the two communities is reported to have followed the abduction of an Armenian by Azeris in the northern border region.

Troops Clash on Border

LD2208181390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] On the events on the Azerbaijan-Armenia border, we have a report from an Azerbaijani Rayon center. A major source of tension has been eliminated on the Azerbaijan-Armenia border.

This afternoon subunits of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs suppressed several major fire positions where hail-control guns, rocket launchers, grenade launchers, and mortars had been installed. The TASS correspondent was told in the headquarters of the Army Operation Group of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs that over the last three days the guerrillas had been firing on Kazakhskiy Rayon villages. About 100 houses have been destroyed, and there are dead and wounded among the local population and servicemen. After the military operation had been carried out, illegal formations of terrorists were expelled from Azerbaijan to Armenia. This was achieved after reserves and combat equipment had been brought in, Major General Malyushkin, deputy commandant of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region [NKAO] and adjacent rayons of Azerbaijan SSR along the frontier zone, told the TASS correspondent. The attackers, numbering several hundred guerrillas, had at their disposal the latest weapons and equipment. Their action, which was not the first, has once again shown the powerlessness of the Armenian leadership, which thinks that it is capable of disarming the guerrillas without outside help. On the other hand, due to the imperfection of legal norms, we could not continue to pursue the bandits on Armenian territory and had to limit ourselves to expelling them from Kzakhskiy Rayon, Azerbaijan.

Now the situation in the rayon is under the control of subunits of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and Azerbaijani law enforcement bodies. Military outposts have been set in villages. Local authorities have started counting the losses incurred. According to preliminary estimates, they amount to tens of thousands of rubles. But who will return hope and confidence in the future to the elderly, women, and children—to more than 3,000 residents of the villages of the Sabir sovkhoz [state farm], Kazakhskiy Rayon, who were attacked and survived the shellings by a miracle and became, in essence, refugees in their own land over the three days of terror? Believe me, it is difficult and sometimes shameful to look into people's eyes, added Colonel Mikailov, chief of the Gyandzha KGB department of the Azerbaijan SSR. He arrived in Kazakhskiy Rayon to assist local colleagues. In their eyes one reads a reproach to us, workers of the law enforcement bodies, who do not have the right to provide a due and—what is most important—timely and preemptive rebuff to terrorists who call themselves self-defense detachments. I am stating with all responsibility that these illegal military formations have one and only goal: destabilizing the situation in our republic and inciting it to retaliatory measures.

Situation Becomes 'Exacerbated'

LD2208183990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] As already reported, the situation on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan has again become sharply exacerbated. Our Baku correspondent Islam Kuliyev reports.

[Kuliyev] The reason for the resumed shelling and attacks from Armenian territory was the arrest of an Armenian guerilla in the village of Baganis-Ayrum in Kazakhskiy Rayon, Azerbaijan, on 16 August, on whose person were discovered a Kalashnikov submachine gun, three (?RGD-5) live grenades, a Finnish knife, and 365 submachine gun rounds. One may ask: What need has Savoyan—that was the name of the man arrested—to go for a walk carrying a weapon, and do so moreover on the territory of the neighboring republic? Naturally, the staff of the Azerbaijani Internal Affairs Ministry detained him to conduct an investigation.

It is precisely this incident, and not the capture of Armenian hostages on Armenian territory—as the IZVESTIYA newspaper wrote on 21 August, and as was stated in the Armenian Supreme Soviet by its head Ter-Petrosyan—that became the reason for the new escalation of armed aggression by the guerillas. On 19 August they cut off the trunk road between the rayon center of Kazakh and the village of Yeparya Kipara, and fired at a regular bus using a grenade launcher and firearms. As a result, a militiaman of the Kazakh Rayon Internal Affairs Department and a woman passenger were killed. Some people were injured. In the exchange of fire, several guerillas were killed, and some of them were injured. Then massive shelling of six Azerbaijani villages started, using not only submachine guns but also hail guns. Internal Troops subunits that hastened to the assistance of the civilian population fell in an ambush, and for several hours conducted combat while being encircled.

The Armenian guerillas also knocked out a helicopter in which Major-General Malyushkin, the deputy commandant of the emergency situation area, was on his way to the site of combat operations. Crew member Lieutenant Colonel Konstantinov was injured. Several more helicopters hastened to the rescue. Covering the damaged helicopter with fire from the air, the helicopter crewmen helped their comrades to repair it to a point where they could take off from the ground and take it behind the mountain pass. Meanwhile, the military broke through their encirclment and brought with them some 140 women and children.

These were the events that preceded the address by Ayaz Mutalibov, president of the Azerbaijan SSR to the supreme soviets of the Union republics. In this document the parliaments' attention is drawn to the situation in the Transcaucasus where—as a result of Armenia's claims to the territory of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and a number of other rayons of Azerbaijan, which have continued unabated for over two and a half years—blood continues to be shed and the further course of events is becoming unpredictable. Ayaz Mutalibov warned unequivocally that under conditions where the center is not taking effective measures to curb the extremists—who have gotten out of hand—the republic reserves the right to appeal to the world public and also to use economic sanctions against Armenia.

Malyushkin Cited on 'Real War'

LD2208205790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] We begin our program with an alarming report. The situation on the border between Azerbaijan and Armenia has again become exacerbated.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent M. Memedov] This comfortable and green town of Kazakh, which is situated in the west of Azerbaijan, today really became a frontline town.

Ten to 15 minutes drive from here, from these hills Armenians—it is hard to call them guerrillas—are conducting aimed firing from various weapons at peaceful villages of Kazakhskiy Rayon. Villages are in flames, about 100 houses have been destroyed, there are dead and wounded among the local population and servicemen. The villages have been evacuated; there are no women or children there, only men. And once again there are refugees, but this time on their own territory. One cannot call this anything other than banditry.

[Video shows Memedov interviewing G.A. Malyushkin, major general of the Operational Forces Group of the USSR Ministry of the Interior]

[Memedov] Comrade general, the shelling has just ended, so, they are really engaged in combat?

[Malyushkin] Yes, one can say that this is a real war. If such powerful weapons as hail guns and others, including mortars and rocket shells, are used, and moreover against a populated point and against the military post of the Soviet Army and Internal Troops which is located here, one can say that this is war.

[Memedov] But tell me please, did the military, I mean the Internal Troops, not know that the Armenian guerrillas were preparing such a large-scale operation?

[Malyushkin] Well, this was known not only by the Internal Troops and not only the Soviet Army. This was known by a lot of people who are in a position to know all about this. But the slowness in preparing to take actions capable of rebuffing this attack unfortunately led to these results. This once again showed the bankruptcy of the requests and petitioning of the government of Armenia that it is capable by its own efforts of disarming the guerrillas.

[Memedov] Do the troops have the right to pursue the bandits onto their territory?

[Malyushkin] We have not been given this right. [end recording]

[Announcer] Here is the latest report from the Azerbaijan town of Kazakh. On of the major hotbeds of tension on the border between Azerbaijan and Armenia was eliminated today. Units of the Internal Troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs suppressed a number of major fire-points where Armenian guerrillas had established hail-gun equipment, rocket installations, grenade throwers, and mortars.

Armenian Army, Power Viewed

LD2208210690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1950 GMT 22 Aug 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] David Vardanyan, chairman of the board of the All-Armenian National Movement, believes that the Armenian National Army is perhaps trying to seize power in the republic by force of weapons. If the problem of bandit formations in the republic is not solved in the near future, parliament should resign.

Officials Depart for Talks

PM2208214590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent N. Belan: "At the Armenian-Azerbaijani Border: The Heart-Rending Anguish..."]

[Excerpt] Kazakh, 22 Aug—[passage omitted] Today is the first day when firing has not been heard here, at the border between the Kazakhskiy and Noyemberyanskiy Rayons of these two long-friendly republics. Only yesterday, 21 August, the bursts of artillery shells and rockets fired by Armenian militants roared and automatic fire and machinegun rounds sought out their victims. As I was told by Colonel R. Mamedov, deputy Internal Affairs minister of the Azerbaijan SSR, shelling began at 0700 hours and the militants fired their guns and rockets at the population centers of Ashagy Askipara and Baganis Ayrum continuously at intervals from 90 seconds to two minutes. The fields, vineyards, and deserted homes are still smoking.

Is this the lull before another storm? I hope not; however, situation reports do not to date inspire hope. As Colonel Mamedov said, a concentration of Armenian militants has been spotted at the border of Tauzskiy Rayon and in Lachinskiy Rayon—there are around 5,000 in that vicinity. Attempts to halt the bloodshed are being made. Now, as I file this report, Colonel General Yu. Shatalin, commander of Internal Forces, and Major General V. Guseynov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR KGB, have set off for talks with the leaders of Armenia.

Ter-Petrosyan To Meet Shatalin

LD2308090490 Moscow TASS in English 0737 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Armenian leader Levon Ter-Petrosyan headed on Wednesday for the city of Idzhevan where he will meet Soviet Interior Ministry Troops Chief Yuriy Shatalin and Soviet Transcaucasus Military District Chief Valeriy Patrikeev to discuss the escalating ethnic clashes between Armenians and Azerbaijanis.

Soviet Interior Ministry Troops destroyed several areas from where Armenian militants were shelling Azerbaijan's Kazakh Region in the past three days.

About 100 homes were destroyed in the shelling. Several civilians and soldiers were killed or wounded.

Soviet troops drove the guerrillas back into Armenia.

"This was done only after reinforcements and combat hardware arrive," Major General, G. Malyushkin, deputy military commander in Nagorno-Karabakh, told TASS.

"Several hundred militants armed with modern weaponry took part in the attack," he said.

"These illegal military units have just one goal—to destabilise the situation in Azerbaijan and provoke retaliation," R. Mikailov, chief of Azerbaijan's Gyandzhin State Security Department, said.

The area is now controlled by the Soviet Interior Ministry Troops and Azerbaijani security bodies. Military posts have been set up in nearby villages.

Border Talks Begin 22 Aug

LD2308104690 Moscow TASS in English 1017 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Kazakh Azerbaijan August 23 TASS—President Levon Ter-Petrosyan of Armenia and Commander of the Interior Security Forces of the USSR Colonel-General Yuriy Shatalin met on Wednesday on the border between the Kazakh district of Azerbaijan and the Izhdevan district of Armenia to discuss ways to defuse the situation there.

The officials attending the meeting, including the KGB chiefs from both republics, commander-in-chief of the (?Transcaucasus) military district Colonel-General Valeriy Patrikeyev and Armenian Interior Minister L. Galstian, were unanimous in their determination to put an end to the bloodshed.

They decided to introduce USSR Interior Ministry units to the most volatile border areas of three Armenian districts.

Ter-Petrosyan reiterated that illegal armed groups in his republic would be disarmed by Armenian forces.

Mutalibov Appeals to Republics

PM2308104490 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent Z. Kadymbekov dispatch: "Fighting on the Border"]

[Text] Baku—A scheduled bus was subjected to bombardment from a grenade thrower and automatic weapons from the direction of Noyemberyanskiy Rayon in Armenia, not far from the settlement of Yukhary Askipara in Kazakhskiy Rayon, Azerbaijan SSR. Several hundred guerrillas ambushed it in the hills and opened massive fire. Sh. Chobanov was killed and Ch. Mamedov was injured—both were militiamen in the escort. Some of the passengers were wounded, and one woman later died.

A real battle broke out between Armenian bandit groups and subunits of the Internal Troops, who have taken under their protection the inhabitants of Azerbaijani villages of Kazakhskiy Rayon, which came under hail-gun fire. Servicemen and militia staffers, cut off by heavy fire, were surrounded as they fought. Internal Troops Major General G. Malyushkin, deputy commandant of the special district, flew out to the site of hostilities to clarify the situation. But his helicopter was also bombarded and holed four times, and the pilot, Lieutenant Colonel V. Konstantinov, was wounded. Helicopters hurrying to the rescue opened fire from the air and enabled the crippled helicopter to be raised and withdrawn to a safe place. Receiving reinforcements, the servicemen fought their way through the cordon, bringing out with them more than 140 inhabitants of Azerbaijani villages. Unfortunately, this was not done without losses: Militia Lieutenant I. Aliyev was killed, and Lieutenant O. Chernay, Sergeant Ye. Nelyubin, Militia Captain A. Mamedov, and Militia Major M. Bayramov were wounded.

On Monday evening an appeal was read on republic television from Azerbaijani President A. Mutalibov to the supreme soviets of the Union republics. The appeal noted that the decision to extend the deadline for the voluntary surrender of weapons, which was taken mainly in response to the Armenian leadership's appeal, and the slowness in such an uncompromising question are regarded by many as a concession resulting from pressure put on the president. The protracted nature of the disarmament process is becoming a political cause of instability in the region, and essentially means that the

Union is in effect refusing to fulfill its obligations to a member of the Federation, namely Azerbaijan.

The decision to appeal to the supreme soviets of the Union republics is prompted by Azerbaijan's desire to convey to the Soviet peoples the truth about the conflict in which it has become embroiled. The Azerbaijani president calls on the Union republics to halt the aggression by their combined efforts before it is too late, and relies on the help of all the Union republics.

Trains to Armenia Suspended

NC2308110990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 22 Aug 90

[From the republican press review]

[Text] Today the newspapers published AZERINFORM's tragic reports from the Kazakhskiy Rayon under the rubric: "When Will the Use of Force Be Halted?"

Due to the complex situation in the Kazakhskiy Rayon, the movement of trains from the Barkhudarly railway station to Armenia has been suspended. The engineers affiliated with the locomotive depot at Gendzha have refused to drive trains to the Idzhevanskiy Rayon. Nearly 1,000 residents of [name indistinct] town gathered on the tracks and blocked the railroad line to Armenia.

'Terrorists' Seize Arms

LD2308113690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] In the Ashtarakskiy Rayon of Armenia, according to reports provided by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, a group of armed individuals staged a completely impudent attack on a special purpose vehicle carrying five convicts escorted by guards. The special purpose vehicle was blocked by a motor vehicle and a bus and forced to go to the wrong side of the road. Then it was rammed by a Kamaz truck and pushed into a ditch. Armed terrorists—numbering between 10 and 15 people—surrounded the special purpose vehicle and opened fire with automatic weapons. Ensign Saakyan, head of the guards, jumped out of the cab and was knocked down and disarmed. Other servicemen who had been dazed by the collision, were also disarmed. Terrorists seized four rifles, a pistol, and 240 bullets. After releasing the criminals, they disappeared. An investigation is being carried out.

Central Asia

Turkmen Supreme Soviet Declares Sovereignty

LD2208155190 Ashkhabad Domestic Service in Turkmen 1430 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Excerpts] The third session of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet of the 12th convocation continues its work in Ashkhabad. [passage omitted]

The Supreme Soviet adopted the declaration on state sovereignty of the Turkmen SSR after an enthusiastic exchange of views and [word indistinct] article by article. After it was adopted the national anthem of Turkmenistan was played. The Supreme Soviet, in order to publicize this historic event, declared 22 August as national holiday of the Turkmenistan SSR. [passage indistinct]

Turkmen Deputies Adopt Amendments to Sovereignty

LD2308094990 Ashkhabad Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] The third session of the Supreme Soviet of the Turkmen SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of the 12th convocation is continuing its work in the republic's capital. Our correspondent Larissa Buklayeva reports:

[Buklayeva] Today, the third day of the session's work, the plenary session was opened and conducted by Comrade Saparmurad Atayevich Niyazov, chairman of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan. The session started its work with the adoption of amendments to the draft declaration on state sovereignty of the Turkmen SSR. It must be said that the deputies tabled amendments to the draft declaration in a critical, principled, and businesslike manner. The discussion on this most important document, which defines ways of further development within the republic, lasted five hours. Then, to stormy applause from the people's deputies, the declaration was adopted.

I invite to the microphone (Baranur Mukhameturovich Sayimov), people's deputy of the Turkmen SSR and chairman of the Committee for Youth Affairs of the Supreme Soviet of the Turkemn SSR:

[(Sayimov)] [passage indistinct]

[Buklayeva] There were a lot amendments and additions to this most important document. What, in particular, did you bring up?

[(Sayimov)] I, together with a group of other deputies [word indistinct] first and foremost such aspects which say that the republic [words indistinct] a zone free of nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. You understand, once we go for demilitarization, once we go for disarmament, you understand [words indistinct]. We consider that by means of this article in the declaration we are making our [word indistinct] our contribution to the creation of a nuclear-free world in general.

[Buklayeva] Lastly, what in your view has been unusual in the present session? You have taken part in many sessions. Exactly what strikes you about the present one?

[(Sayimov)] It is a pleasant surprise to see that starting with the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and several deputies there is appearing a sense of the republic's own dignity. One feels that already [words indistinct] a sense of their own dignity among representatives of a sovereign state which is tackling its questions independently, but without harming a single nation, people, or republic. You understand, this is a very good dialectic.

[Buklayeva] With that today's session ended. The people's deputies decided to take the afternoon off. Tomorrow the third session of the Supreme Soviet of the Turkmen SSR will continue its work.

Kazakhstan's Nazarbayev Visits Mangyztauz Oblast

LD2208170490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 22 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] We have already reported about the formation in Kazakhstan of the new Mangyztauz Oblast on the borders of the previously abolished Mangyshlak Oblast. Comrade Nazarbayev, president of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], has been there.

[D. Baimbetov] A lot of minerals have been discovered on the peninsula, but it is primarily oil and gas which have brought glory to it. The peninsula, which covers a vast area of 167,000 square kms transformed into the republic's main oil storehouse, has long since become an integral political and economic unit. And, of course, the thoughtless, muddleheaded decision that was adopted to abolish the oblast can only be described as bungling.

At the aktiv, and at the first session of the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, there was a lot of discussion about ways to build up oil and gas extraction and to improve other areas of production. Particular stress was laid on questions of improving people's living conditions, developing the infrastructure, and improving interethnic relations. One important issue was that of broadly attracting the indigenous peoples of the region into social production and creating opportunities for them to take up industrial professions.

The Kazakh SSR president visited construction sites in the town, the Plastmass works, the Prikaspiyskiy Mine and Metallurgical Combine production association, and spoke with inhabitants of the oblast center.

Nazarbayev Addresses Kazakhstan Oblast Party

LD2108215590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 21 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Nazarbayev, president of the [Kazakh] Republic, visited the reorganized Turgay Oblast in Kazakhstan.

[D. Baymbetov] The oblast has been restored to its former boundaries which encompass some rayons of the Tselinograd and Kustanay Oblasts.

There was a meeting of the party and economic aktiv in Arkalyk, the center of the revived oblast, at which Comrade Nazarbayev, president of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, spoke.

He noted that the Union dictate, which has existed for many decades, has had a negative affect upon the republic, when thought was given in the first place not to solving social problems but only to erecting industrial facilities.

[Nazarbayev] As a result of the distorted development of our economy, it turned out that in 1985 we imported 60 percent of consumer goods from beyond the borders of Kazakhstan. Is that really Kazakhstan's fault? Of course not.

[Baymbetov] He went on to speak of the ways out of such a difficult situation and of the need to achieve the republic's complete sovereignty.

Of course, he also spoke of the fate of this year's harvest. On the territory of the oblast where an excellent crop has been grown, it is to be gathered in without loss in a very short time. Maximum use must be made of all existing reserves for this. This thought was also voiced at a many-thousand strong rally, which took place in the center of the city.

The president called upon the people of the city to do everything to ensure the successful carrying out of the harvest, to help the workers of the countryside in these difficult days.

Comrade Nazarbayev also visited Arkalyk's trade points, conversed with its inhabitants, and met with members of the action committee for the restoration of the oblast.

Politburo's Masaliyev Discusses Events in Osh

90US1249A Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 25 Jul 90 p 1

[Unattributed KIRTAG report: "Strengthen the Party and Perestroyka by Action"]

[Excerpts] Urgent problems of the democratization of the party and its place and role in the renewal of society were discussed at a meeting between A.M. Masaliyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party, and chairman of the republican Supreme Soviet, and representatives of the work force of a number of enterprises of the capital's Leninskiy Rayon. It took place at the M.V. Frunze Agricultural Machine-Building Plant on 23 July. [passage omitted]

In his speech, A.M. Masaliyev described the main decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress, the resolutions that were adopted, and the evaluation of the Central Committee's activity made by the delegates to the country's party forum, and shared personal impressions of his work. The CPSU congress, he emphasized, accomplished its main task—it prevented a split in the party. It is now necessary to apply every effort to strengthen the ranks of the CPSU and enhance its authority. This is today the main task of all primary party organizations and all Communists. The party's prospects and its capacity for becoming a part of the process of the qualitative renovation of society and being its vanguard will depend on our common efforts. The party will be the main lever of perestroyka if it is strong organizationally and politically, rids itself of dogmatism, and comes as close as possible to the needs and requirements of the rank-and-file Communist and the Soviet workman. And this will depend on each of us.

The party is going through a difficult period, and a variety of demagogues and extremists are not stinting in their lies and slander in order to discredit it. Under these conditions we are simply duty bound to uphold our communist ideals and defend them from encroachments and firmly and by specific action support the CPSU's strategic course toward its radical renewal. The party has made mistakes, and they are being discussed openly, but the blame for them lies with individual leaders, not the party as a whole. It is important now what lessons have been learned from them and what practical steps are being taken to prevent their repetition.

The delegates from Kirghizia—there were 37 of them—the speaker went on to observe, participated actively in the congress and expressed at the plenary and panel sessions their opinion in support of a single Communist Party without factions and groupings as a real consolidating force. The loss of support for the party among the working class, whose representatives are leaving it, was of particular concern to our delegates. The purposeful, painstaking work of the party committees and primary party organizations is essential here. They must help the worker Communists find their place and get their second wind under conditions where the party has embarked on what is now the sole correct path—that of becoming the leading force in a rapidly changing society.

A.M. Masaliyev then dwelt on the tragic events in Osh Oblast, which are exacerbating interethnic relations in the extreme and evoking people's disquiet and concern for the future and the lives of their children. The alarm with which the engineers spoke to me about this during our discussion in the shops is understandable, he said. Many representatives of the Russian-speaking population, who rightly consider this plant and this outfit their own, work at this enterprise. They are perfectly right to say that we need to bring order to bear in our common home more rapidly in order that it might be possible to live and work in tranquillity.

It would not be out of place, I believe, he observed, to emphasize that the representatives of the Russian, Ukrainian, and other peoples living in Frunze, Osh, and other regions of the republic are displaying an understanding of the current situation and have at our request gone to the rural areas to perform propaganda and explanatory work among the local Kirghiz and Uzbek population. Particularly great assistance is being rendered us by the multinational outfit of veterans. We hope that we will always have such mutual understanding, for this is simply indispensable. Soviet Kirghizia is not only the land of Manas and Kirghiz, as some ardent youth groups put it, it is our common land. Russians, Uzbeks and Ukrainians, Belorussians and Germans, Dungan and Koreans, Kazakhs and Uighurs have long lived and worked alongside together with the Kirghiz here. And the wealth of our land is created by the common labor and culture of all peoples. We members of the older generation, Communists primarily, must impress this thought upon young, ardent, and sometimes confused people. Speaking about all acute problems with our partners patiently, openly, and confidingly and finding a common language with them—this is the main task of the party organizations and the party as the main political force in society. [passage omitted]

Osh Disruption Costs, Anti-Riot Measures Viewed

90US1250A Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 27 Jul 90 p 2

[Unattributed KIRTAG report on responses from Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department press center to questions: "Candidly on the Subject of Rumors and Conjecture"]

[Text] In connection with the events in Osh Oblast and the introduction of a state of emergency in Frunze city, many questions are being asked of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department telephone hotline, and through other channels.

[Question] The curfew has now been in force in Frunze for two months. How is the city coping with this?

[Answer] Let us say straight away that the state of emergency is costing the city dearly. From 7 June to 23 July the cost of maintaining military units and internal troops invited into the city to maintain order and the safety of citizens cost 220,000 rubles [R], including R150,000 to feed the servicemen and R50,000 for transportation. To this we must add that all the expenditures are being met from the local budget.

With the introduction of the curfew, changes were made in the working hours of all stores, public catering enterprises, and cultural and entertainment establishments. This has naturally had its effect on the location of trade turnover, in which there has been a shortfall of R3.44 million. The "Promtovary" Association, for example, has lost R400,000 of turnover, the "Prodtovary" Association R1.67 million, the "Obshchepit" Association R1.37 million.

The inhabitants of Frunze have also been feeling how this has affected cultural and sporting life in the capital. Theatrical tours, a rock festival, and performances by the well-known "Mirazh" group have been canceled, along with performances by the popular poet and singer A.

Rozenbaum, sports competitions, and other events. For this reason the inhabitants of the city have received R4.5 million less user fees than planned.

The city's industry has also sustained losses of more than R7 million.

Such is the "cost" of the curfew. Although they are experiencing inconveniences associated with it, and carrying unforeseen expenses, the people of Frunze should know that they are doing so primarily because of those who organized unsanctioned meetings and incited young people to disorders.

[Question] It has been reported in the press that since 21 July the state of emergency already in force in Osh Oblast has been intensified. What specific additional steps have been taken?

[Answer] First, the curfew has been extended to be in force from 2100 to 0600, passport conditions have been tightened, and gatherings of more than three persons on roads and streets and the doorways of houses are categorically banned. Together with the representatives of party and soviet organizations and of the local and district committees, international volunteer people's militia are being set up to maintain order at places in residential areas. Soldiers who fought in Afghanistan are being enlisted for this. Provision has also been made for measures to safeguard production premises and warehouses using the workers, and to insure prompt unloading and loading of national economic freight on the railroads. Disturbing this work is punishable by a fine of up to R1,000. During the hours of curfew outsiders are not permitted to stay in citizens' apartments. Permission must be obtained from the commandant to have relatives visit. Other measures have also been tightened.

[Question] Has the procedure for leaving Osh Oblast been changed?

[Answer] Persons in possession of a local passport and those on business trips may travel unhindered to any point in the oblast. Aeroflot flights are moving on schedule.

[Question] Students from the Frunze Polytechnical Institute and their parents are asking whether they can travel for production practice in the settlement of Khaydarkan.

[Answer] V.M. Zhuravlev, Kirghiz SSR first deputy minister of public education, has explained that practice for students has not been suspended and will take place at the scheduled times. The situation in Khaydarkan is normal and calm.

[Question] A number of the republic's inhabitants are interested in knowing about the situation in Frunze city.

[Answer] The atmosphere in the republic's capital is healthy and businesslike and no excesses have been registered, particularly with respect to interethnic relations. During the period that the curfew has been in force the number of violations of the law has declined 22 percent.

[Question] A student from the agricultural institute, Abdurashitov, asks whether or not it is true that people of Kirghiz nationality living in Osh Oblast are moving to Talasskiy Rayon.

[Answer] There are no instances of this.

[Question] There are many rumors that during the days of the mass disorders in the cities of Osh and Uzgen the murders of innocent people occurred, using refined cruelty, and that the corpses were dismembered and quartered. Have you any comment on this?

[Answer] There is no doubt that the murder of innocent people is an act of vandalism and extreme cruelty. At the same time, however, in the interests of truth it must be said that no cases of mutilation of bodies or dismemberment have been reported. A medical post mortem has been performed on each body discovered. This is what was officially reported by Yu.F. Nyu, deputy chief of the Kirghiz SSR Ministry of Health Department of Forensic Medicine, who has been directly involved in this work since the first days of the tragedy: "On 23 July 1990 medical examinations were made of 212 bodies of people who had died during the mass disorders in Osh Oblast, a total of 125 in Uzgenskiy Rayon. No case of dismemberment or other kind of mutilation of dead bodies was uncovered."

Unfortunately, rumors about alleged mutilation of dead bodies continue to be exaggerated. The impression is being created that it is to someone's advantage to keep passions high. We have the so-called "eyewitnesses" who claim that they have seen desecrated and dismembered bodies with their own eyes. The press has already reported one such pseudo-witness, who claimed that she was a student at the Osh Pedagogical Institute. And of all these spreaders of slanderous inventions, not one has been brought to book. And so the big issue for the inhabitants of the republic is this: Do not listen to rumors. As a rule they are put into circulation with evil intent and for purposes of incitement, so as put people in a panic and sow suspicion one against the other and slow down the process of normalizing the situation.

Here is an example of this. At the end of last week a telephone call was made to the Osh sewn goods factory. An unknown person reported that a crowd of hooligans was about to descend on the enterprise. The women working there believed this, left the shops and hurried off home. It goes without saying that no attack materialized. The telephone call was aimed at paralyzing production, which the instigator succeeded in doing.

Or take another instance. During last week's meeting of party, war, and labor veterans from the rayon center and Kara-Suyskiy Rayon one of those present, Kh. Saliyev, stated that Osh was just about surrounded by thousands of people mounted and on foot, all of Kirghiz nationality, ready to storm the city. And at that same meeting a commission was formed, led by the chairman of the Osh City Council of Veterans, N.G. Bozhenko. The commission flew off over the town in a helicopter and landed at populated points in order to see for itself, as they say, and it found Kh. Saliyev's report to be a most shameless invention.

But we repeat that this is just one of many cases, unfortunately, in which someone spreading rumors was caught red-handed and the lie exposed. And so, comrades, be vigilant and do not easily believe everything they say in the crowds, even if it comes from "eyewitnesses." Try to check what you hear on our telephone hotline. We also have to report that in accordance with an order from the commandant of Osh Oblast, those who spread provocative rumors are subject to a fine of up to R1,000.

[Question] Can the inhabitants of Frunze and other parts of the republic travel to the resort city of Dzhalal-Abad and find calm there?

[Answer] The chairman of the republic Council for the Management of Resorts, E.A. Isayev, has reported that the "Dzhalal-Abad" resort is operating normally. Those who have acquired travel passes for rest there have no cause to worry.

Deputy Commander Interviewed on Osh Situation

90US1250B Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 28 Jul 90 p 1

[Report on interview with Lieutenant General G. Kondratyev, first deputy commander of the Turkestan Military District, by V. Kim in Osh; date not given: "The Army and the Militia: Strengthen Cooperation"]

[Text] **Lieutenant General G. Kondratyev, first deputy commander of the Turkestan Military District, analyzes the situation in Osh Oblast.**

In this very complex and difficult situation, General Kondratyev is concerned, among other problems, with that of coordinating Army and militia forces. We publish a tape recording of his interview almost without changes or deletions. Since he occupies such a high post and is carrying out such a crucial mission, he undoubtedly has the right to say what he thinks. For his part, the editor believes quite definitely that in particular places the general makes unjustified generalizations that he really should not try to do. It must be supposed that it is a question of both serious and mass cases of misunderstanding between the soldiers and the militia. But there is a problem, and the newspaper has deemed it essential to draw attention to it. It is essential to eliminate the misunderstandings and combine the efforts of the troops and the law enforcement forces even more closely in order to bring the one main thing to a successful conclusion, namely, to bring order to the region.

I am firmly convinced, General Kondratyev told our correspondent, that all the clashes in Osh Oblast involving bloodshed, without exception, could have been avoided by the local militia forces, even without Army intervention, if the oblast leadership had shown perspicacity and been more resolute in maintaining order.

The Army and Internal Troops came to the assistance of the population when events had already gotten out of hand. The situation was complex, nevertheless by 7 July the situation had been brought under control in most areas. True, the calm that ensued was deceptive. Based on our experience we knew that to be the case, and even then were expecting a new wave. We even predicted the date accurately—15 July, the day of remembrance. If before then we had all—the Army, the militia, the Internal Troops, and first and foremost the party and soviet apparatus—worked together in a friendly fashion, the events of 14 and 15 July might have been avoided. Unfortunately, we did not manage to do that. The Army and the militia operated separately, the soviet and party workers showed little activity, and little work was actually to be seen by the civic leadership among the population. As a result, people received only distorted and deliberately false information that incited them to rash actions. I was convinced of this over and over again during my trips through the hot spots. So that we simply let the opportunity slip.

All subsequent preventive work was done independently by the Army, without assistance from the militia. And fortunately it was not without success. We drew attention in good time to the fact that Osh had for some time been flooded with crowds of idlers. They started to arrest them. Most of them were people who had arrived from somewhere else. A total of 230 people were neutralized in this way. We managed to prevent major clashes planned for 21 July.

I must say candidly that I am worried about cooperation between the Army and the militia. Things sometimes reach the state where workers in the law-enforcement agencies are engaged in discrediting the actions of the Army. There are cases in which they want to present us in an unfavorable light in the eyes of the people. Rumors are circulating in the oblast, not without help from the militia, that soldiers have murdered innocent people.

Do these rumors have any basis? An incident occurred on 21 July. In the area of the tourist base in Osh a youth tragically died. The Internal Troops were involved in this unfortunate (I emphasize the word "unfortunate") incident. The military procurator's office instigated a criminal case. I think that in the next few days it will be providing exhaustive information about the incident. However, rumors circulated through the city that it was soldiers who had killed the young man. Unfortunately, the rumors, I repeat, are being spread by the militia. In this connection it has been officially stated that at the time of the young man's tragic death not one single soldier subordinate to me was in the area.

It sometimes seems to me that the baneful effect of rumors in the oblast is being obviously underestimated, despite the fact that it is pointed out in one of the commandant's orders that spreading rumors will be severely punished. The rumors and cock-and-bull stories are increasing in Osh and are having their effect on the shaping of public opinion. It pains me greatly to have to report that I myself have heard that our soldiers are supposedly taking bribes from the public in Uzgen. This is the latest cock-and-bull story, a dirty slander that discredits the Army.

Rumors really do possess a destructive force. Let me try to assert this viewpoint with a specific example. On 19 July the entire settlement of Vostochnyy was roused by a general alarm in expectation of some mythical horsemen. People rushed to arm themselves with sticks and stakes, insisting that a thousand-strong detachment was on its way. Then I went to the village of Mady, where I found exactly the same picture. There they were expecting an attack from the town. So rumors almost brought two very large groups of the population to blows. I have no doubt that the hands of provocateurs were involved here.

Let me return again to one of the commandant's orders. What I have in mind is the order about the strict punishments against any manifestations of hooliganism. They are not dealing with hooligans effectively enough in Osh. This is precisely why clashes continue to this day in the oblast and in Osh. The Army is honorably carrying out its obligations and decisively cutting short manifestations of hooliganism. As far as the militia is concerned, it is playing an increasing the role of passive observer. On 14, 15, and 16 July hooligans smashed car windows and hurled stones at passersby near the cotton combine, and the militiamen did nothing.

I think that it is high time for us to organize cooperation with the militia leadership. I place hope in the fact that the oblast administration is led by Major General of the Militia Abdrakhmanov, whom I know is fully determined to change the situation in the oblast. And not before time. We are ready to meet the militia, and it, I hope, will help in restoring an attitude of respect toward the Army.

In recent days we have significantly tightened control over public order. We are firmly complying with all points in the commandant's latest order, and we are not about to change our tactics. And people should already be feeling the results of our efforts. The soldiers now control not only the central streets, as before, but also the residential areas, where the disorders most often occur. Force must be met with force. Although hooligans are strong only when they are in a crowd. So we are no longer permitting assemblies. As far as the separate groups are concerned, it is not so complicated to deal with them. The more so since the public is constantly informing us about the actions of the lawbreakers.

Tajik Supreme Soviet Reviews Ownership, Leasing

LD2208224490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] [Announcer] The second session of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet of the 12th convocation is continuing its work in Dushanbe. Over to our correspondent Muzafar Madzhidov:

[Madzhidov] After the summer recess Tajikistan's parliament has resumed its work. In the course of the discussion, the session confirmed an agenda consisting of 29 questions. Then draft bills on ownership and on leasing in the Tajik SSR were submitted for examination by the deputies. I asked Georgiy Vadimovich Koshlakov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Tajik SSR, to comment on progress in the session's work.

[Begin recording] [Koshlakov] Well, I believe that on the whole the session is proceeding normally. Draft bills on ownership and on leasing are being discussed for a fairly long time. There are proposals to adopt them in the first reading because people are extremely interested in the laws under which they are to live and work in future. But the most important thing is that there should be such laws and that they should be observed. Within this context work must of course be speeded up.

[Madzhidov] Georgiy Vadimovich, are there changes and great (?differences) between the laws of the USSR on leasing and ownership and the laws on leasing and ownership of the Tajik SSR?

[Koshlakov] Well, in my reports I tried to draw precise attention to the differences between Union laws and republican laws. In the law on ownership there are very substantial differences, in the law on leasing there is less difference because on the whole, as I have already said, that is a law streamlined by practice and only a few specific features have been introduced there, whereas in the law on ownership there are quite a few differences from the Union law. In particular, we have submitted a very fundamental proposal regarding the introduction of the concept of private ownership which does not exist in the Union law.

[Madzhidov] And more specifically?

[Koshlakov] More specifically we have submitted the proposal to introduce into the republic's law on ownership the right to the existence of private ownership, restricting private ownership at the first stage, introducing it only for small-scale production and the services sphere. The law on ownership has already been adopted in the first reading and has been passed on for finalization. Then it will be published. All views of the working people will be collected through the newspapers and through addresses which will be indicated and it will be submitted for the final examination at the next session. [end recording]